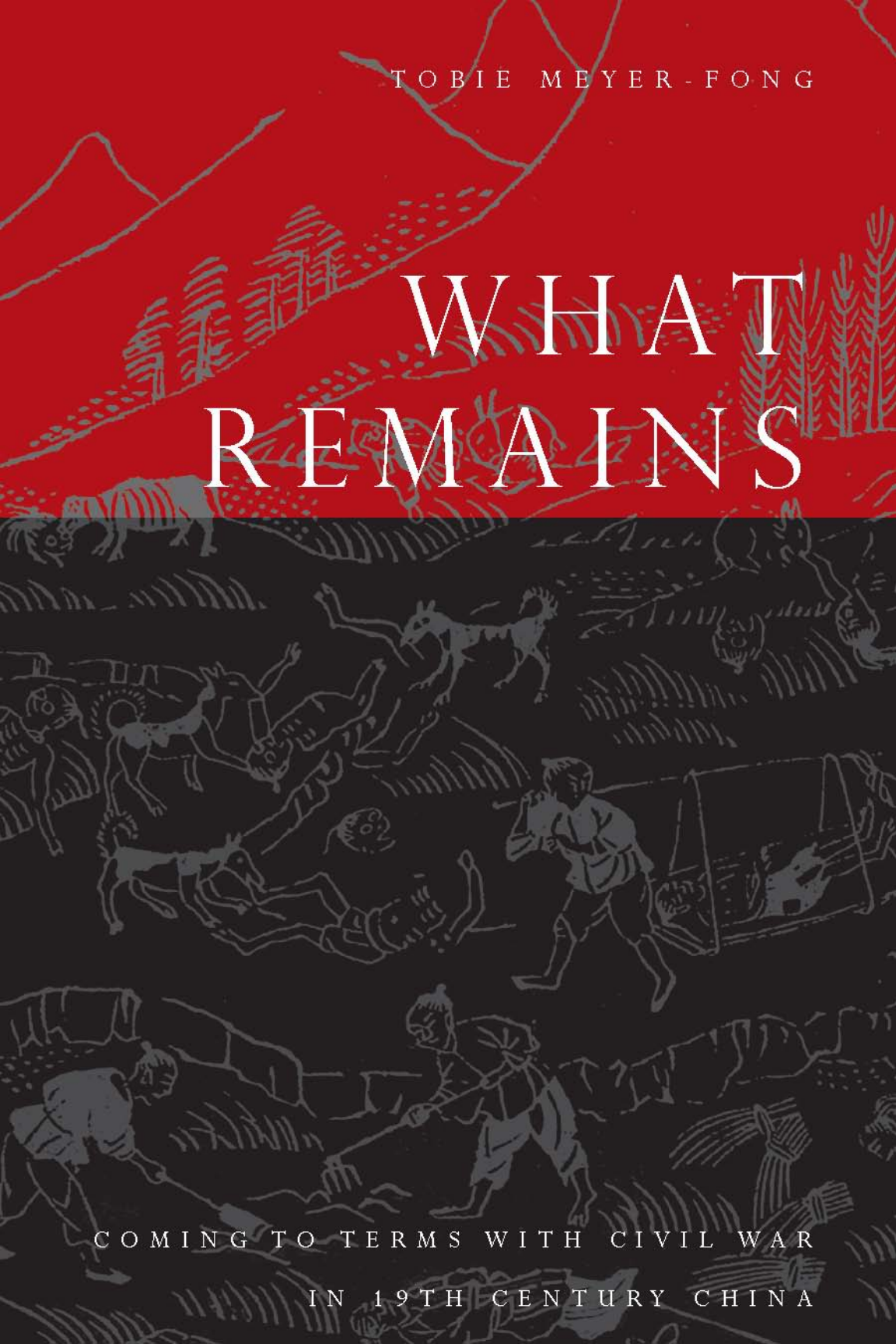
TOBIE MEYER-FONG

WHAT REMAINS



COMING TO TERMS WITH CIVIL WAR IN 19TH CENTURY CHINA

What Remains

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Tobie Meyer-Fong

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Chang-Ching Fong (1934–2002), father-in-law
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Feelings beyond words live on, in memory.

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Writing a book about death and violence has been painful; I have tried to respect the suffering of those I write about by not making this a book about us and our times and our theories, although of course there are resonances. This is ultimately a book about people in the past, what they lost, and how they lived and died and remembered. I am grateful to them for leaving traces that allow us a partial glimpse of their world.

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Author's Note

Nearly all of the places named in the text can be found on the map on page 6.
A glossary of key Chinese names and terms can be found on page 271.

What Remains

CHAPTER ONE

War

What Was Lost

According to conventionally cited statistics, the Taiping Rebellion, which lasted from 1850 to 1864, cost twenty to thirty million people their lives.[1] On that basis, it has been termed the most devastating civil war in human history. A precise body count (or even an approximate one) is, in retrospect, impossible, as has been demonstrated recently by several inconclusive articles on population loss in this period.[2] Contemporary accounts suggest extraordinary carnage and destruction. Memoirs and local gazetteers compiled in the postwar period refer with appalling frequency to population loss approaching or surpassing 50 percent in cities and towns throughout the lower Yangzi region and describe unspeakable human suffering.[3] But whether or not these numbers are accurate, the death toll surely was much larger than that in the exactly contemporaneous American Civil War, a conflict in which some 620,000 soldiers and perhaps 50,000 civilians died.[4]

And yet, in spite of its devastating scope, the Taiping Rebellion remains relatively unknown outside of China, compared to events that were arguably of less far-reaching and transformative significance.[5] Even within the

China field, accounts of the Taiping Rebellion have been remarkably bloodless; we have been preoccupied with abstract ideological questions rather than with damage. Scholars seeking to explain the late-nineteenth-century rise of Shanghai routinely allude to the arrival of migrants from the prosperous and cultured Jiangnan region, without reference to the ruination that impelled them to move. In teaching about the Taiping Rebellion, historians of China typically gesture toward the fact of its having been the most devastating civil war in history or cite the appalling statistic of twenty to thirty million. But then we (myself included) lecture about Jesus Christ's Younger Brother and his odd vision to the delighted amazement of our students. It is time to reconsider these priorities.

A decade ago, as I finished writing *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*, a book about the construction of scenic sites in Yangzhou in the aftermath of the Manchu Conquest of that city in 1645, I realized that I had yet to examine the 1874 gazetteer for Yangzhou prefecture—held in the collection of the Library of Congress, only a few blocks from where I live.[6] I walked over to spend what I thought would be an hour or two ensuring that I had at least looked at all of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) gazetteers for Yangzhou prefecture. But what I found that day in that book changed the way I understood my project, by rewriting the ending. It also opened the way to an entirely new set of questions and pointed toward this present study. I was shocked to learn that nearly all of the sites discussed in *Building Culture* (and much else) had been destroyed during the Taiping War of the mid-nineteenth century.[7] I was, moreover, stunned to find that the 1874 gazetteer for Yangzhou prefecture documented in carefully stylized form the honorable deaths of a very large number of local residents who killed themselves or who were killed when the Taiping armies occupied Yangzhou. I had been studying Qing history for more than a decade. I had read books about the Taiping rebellion. I had given lectures on it in my classes. And I had never really thought about what it might have meant at the local level to the millions of people who had lost their lives, livelihood, and loved ones.

I spent the next several days reading the literally hundreds of accounts of the deaths of the loyal and righteous, even though these stories had no direct bearing on the project that I was trying to finish. A gazetteer is a topically organized compendium of materials on local topics edited by local elites under the formal oversight of officials and in accordance with fairly well-established principles of inclusion. Although earlier editions of Qing

gazetteers typically included biographies of moral exemplars including chaste women, loyal and righteous or filial men, and outstanding officials or literary figures, this edition spotlighted the loyal and righteous dead. As I later learned, emphasis on the loyal and righteous was typical of post-Taiping gazetteers produced in this region, as was the format in which they were presented. The stories of the exemplary dead were highly patterned, offering little more than name, social status, place, and means of death. For instance, in the Yangzhou gazetteer from 1874 we find, among many others: "Military Student, Zhu Wanchun. When the city fell and there was fighting in the lanes, the rebels used guns to surround him. He died in the gunfire."[8] "Zhao Jialin was taken as a prisoner to the pagoda at Sanchahe in 1856. The rebels stored gunpowder there and he lit a match that he had brought with him. This blew up the pagoda and killed several thousand rebels. Zhao also lost his life."[9]

The gazetteer describes martyrs sliced, stabbed, hacked, burned, or cut down for talking back; martyrs who died by drowning, hanging, self-immolation, self-starvation, or poison. Centered upon the moment of death, each story captures the essential act of resistance against the rebels. Each of the people so recorded was thereby translated from a living person into a moral exemplar embodying loyalty to the dynasty. In the process of translation, each was reduced to a single political and moral meaning. Nothing remains of their personalities or experiences beyond what could be construed as righteous or loyal. But all are named, situated, and caught in the act whereby their lives were extinguished—the moment that proved them worthy of commemoration. I wondered what had become of all the dead bodies; how had funerals been conducted in wartime? How seriously had survivors taken state-sponsored honors in the immediate aftermath of the war? What were the emotional implications of loss for those who lived? And what evidence of an emotional response might be found in a commemorative landscape seemingly and predictably dominated by state honors?

Official remembrance rendered the dead meaningful within a very particular political context and discourse. Through the use of morally charged language, ordinary men and women were recast as martyrs and the violence of their deaths was imbued with political meaning and moral weight. Local elites produced morality tales of honorable death and submitted them for recognition up a hierarchy of provincial and metropolitan officials. They built shrines celebrating the war dead, framing them in accordance with values and institutions developed during the Qing dynasty. And yet, within

decades, the stories of those who had died ostensibly for the dynasty had been deliberately forgotten, overwritten by new national imperatives. By the end of the nineteenth century, the more distant violence of the Qing conquest of the Jiangnan region in 1645 had become the consummate icon of local suffering, replacing more recent events in popular memory. Interpretations shifted. In the gazetteers of the 1870s and 1880s, communal loyalty unto death for the Ming dynasty in the seventeenth century was understood to foreshadow loyalty unto death for the Qing in the early 1860s. The value celebrated by terrible analogy was loyalty above all else. By the turn of the twentieth century, the story of the Qing conquest had acquired new meanings: rather than encoding loyalty, it stood for national humiliation. More recent martyrdom in the name of the discredited dynasty lost all resonance; the mid-nineteenth-century struggle acquired a new set of heroes and meanings.

The public focus on the righteousness and heroism of the martyred dead facilitated erasure of wartime mayhem and brutality from historical memory; systematic elimination of Taiping texts ensured (in the short run) the relative absence of alternative accounts. After the 1911 Revolution, new revolutionary martyrs quite literally displaced those honored by the dynasty. Shrines honoring the dead from the Taiping War were repurposed and renamed to honor those who died founding the Republic. Texts and stories that did not re-inscribe the new conventional wisdom of Taiping heroism and its Qing antithesis were subject to either misinterpretation or neglect. Sources affirming Taiping heroism were recovered from collections abroad or invented wholesale. Neither revolutionary nor progressive, those who ostensibly died for the dynasty in the mid-nineteenth century became, in the twentieth century, extraneous to the dominant narratives of modern Chinese history, which reversed the verdicts on the war, the dynasty, the rebels, and the dead. New visions of the greater national good obscured meaningless violence, emotion, and loss. The terms in which their deaths had been commemorated were no longer meaningful. And, contrary to the gazetteer editors' purpose, memory of the war dead was extinguished.

Rebellion, Revolution, War

The story of China's nineteenth-century civil war has most often been narrated as the biography of a visionary or of the proto-revolutionary movement he inspired. In 1837, Hong Xiuquan, a failed examination candidate

from Guangdong Province in China's Deep South, fell into a trance and was troubled by visions, which he later (in 1843) interpreted through a Christian tract that he had received from a Chinese evangelist several years earlier. He proclaimed himself the second son of the Heavenly Father, and thus, the younger brother of Jesus Christ. He gathered followers in his hometown, and, after 1844, in the mountains of Guangxi, developed a system of religious and quotidian practices that formed the basis of his radical challenge to the prevailing dynastic order.[10]

In January 1851, after winning a decisive battle against government forces, Hong Xiuquan pronounced himself the Heavenly King (Tianwang) of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (Taiping tianguo), an act tantamount to secession. The Taiping army fought its way northward out of Guangxi, seizing strategically important cities along the way. Rumors proliferated, spreading anxiety and uncertainty downriver to the Yangzi delta region and beyond.[11] The Taiping forces occupied Nanjing in 1853 and made the early Ming capital their own, renaming it the Heavenly Capital (Tianjing). They established a currency and an independent calendar, promoted their religion, and imagined a radically new system of government and land tenure, which they were never fully able to implement. They also organized the populace into productive and fighting units, segregated by gender.

The Taiping played upon incipient Han nationalism: their propaganda quite literally demonized the dynasty, using the prefix *yao,* meaning demon, to delegitimize the Manchus as well as imperial personnel and institutions. They deliberately slaughtered the civilian inhabitants of Manchu garrisons.[12] For eleven more years, in spite of internal dissension that nearly destroyed them, the Taiping fought against Qing armies, local militias, regional armies, and foreign mercenaries for control over territory and tax revenue.[13] Communities changed hands, often repeatedly, inflicting terrible collateral damage on civilian populations and the infrastructure that supported them. Over the course of fourteen years, the war afflicted some sixteen or seventeen of the twenty-four provinces in the Qing Empire, wreaking particular havoc along the Yangzi River.

With the collapse of the Great [Qing] Jiangnan Encampment (Jiangnan daying) near Nanjing in 1860, the Taiping succeeded in occupying many of the major cities of the fertile and commercialized Yangzi River delta. Endemic warfare in the region between 1860 and the fall of the Heavenly Capital to the Hunan Army in 1864 led to catastrophic material and human consequences. The Qing and their allies also deliberately dehumanized their

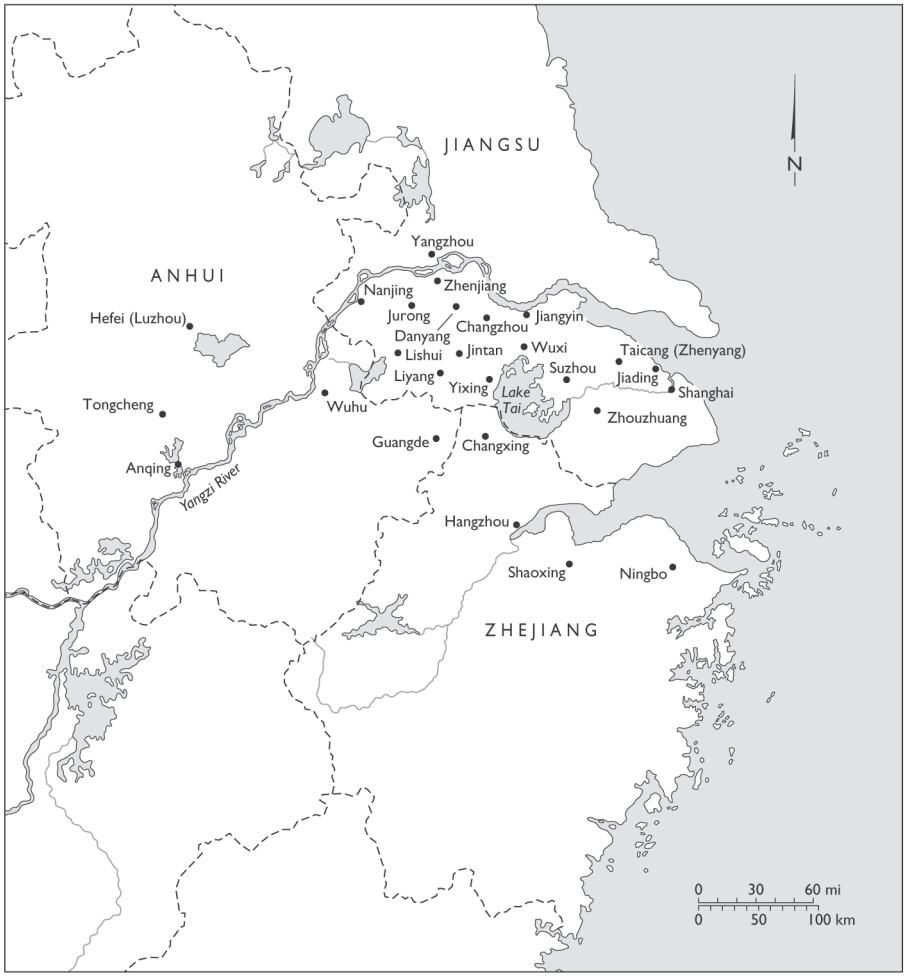


Figure 1.1. The Jiangnan region

enemies. Zeng Guofan, the founder of the Hunan Army, described the Taiping as the enemies of Confucian civilization even as he prosecuted an eradication campaign against them.

Refugees from delta cities fled to the countryside or sought safety in the treaty port of Shanghai, which benefited from foreign protection and which was in turn transformed by these new arrivals. Armies swollen by captives and new recruits contributed to escalating violence.[14] Looting became imperative in order to feed the expanded armies and militias on both sides; and because

civilians might also be soldiers or offer material support to the enemy, both sides brutalized ordinary people. As the war dragged on, the fighting became increasingly predatory, unpredictable, and chaotic.[15] It also turned vicious as both sides called for annihilation of their enemies in ever more absolute terms.[16] Alliances proved tenuous and property vulnerable. In some cases, brothers and neighbors fought on opposing sides, and many communities divided over whom to support and how best to protect themselves.[17]

In 1881, the editors of a local gazetteer for Wuxi County in southern Jiangsu Province observed that the war had shattered expectations of peace formed over the many centuries of Qing rule and marked the absolute end of an era: "While we urgently relied on the emperor's efficacy to expel the wicked and odoriferous forces, several hundred years of protection were overrun, trampled, and at an end. The cruelty of the killing and destruction was unprecedented."[18]

Why had things gone so badly wrong? The editors of the Wuxi gazetteer fault official incompetence and the venality of some of their counterparts among the local elite for the disastrous turn taken by events in their locale.[19] Preparations for the rebel assault, they note, had been inadequate and incomplete and those in charge bore some responsibility. Worse yet, they add, there were those who collected taxes and rents that spring who not only failed to protect the county seat but also willingly turned over what they had collected to the rebels.[20] Local militias that were mustered to fight against the Taiping had an appalling propensity to visit terror on farmers and merchants. Armies, short on rations, were difficult to control and maintain.[21]

There were also deeper and more insidious causes. The editors' description of the antebellum situation is idealized in order to sharpen the contrast between the responsible rule and social harmony of the more distant past and the abject suffering of recent experience. But trouble had been brewing for some time because of a multifaceted social and political crisis that affected even the Yangzi delta, a region often described as China's economic and cultural heartland. The empire was afflicted by shrinking government capacity, impoverishment, and natural disasters compounded during the Daoguang period (1821–1850) by the convergence of population pressure, failing infrastructure, corruption, inflation, and administrative malaise. These problems were much discussed at the time by statecraft-minded scholars.[22] Additionally, widespread death and destruction had accompanied floods, epidemics, famine, and earthquakes during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Tensions were further exacerbated by a severe monetary crisis, which intensified during the 1840s and 1850s. The empire depended on a bimetallic monetary system whereby taxes and other large transactions were paid in silver denominated by weight, while most of the business of daily life was transacted in copper coins. A shortage of silver triggered a sharp rise in prices and an even more dramatic rise in land taxes. Landlords pressured tenants to pay their rents, so that they in turn could pay their taxes, along with the host of irregular fees that the bureaucracy had initiated in order to make up for its own shrinking fiscal resources.[23] Tenants absconded, landholders sold their holdings and departed, those without means turned to banditry. The indemnity imposed by Great Britain in the aftermath of the Opium War placed a heavy burden on the dynasty's already overextended treasury, and the foreign victory challenged both the dynasty's sovereignty and its legitimacy.[24]

Many people at all levels of society had good reason to be dissatisfied; the civil war, when it came, magnified prior social problems, and these preexisting problems also conditioned and shaped local responses to war. War provided further reason for anger and outrage at official malfeasance as well as inspiring proclamations of loyalty unto death. In its aftermath, war and reconstruction compelled the emergence of a revised political order, empowering provincial governors, in many cases themselves veteran officers in the regional armies that had suppressed the rebellion, and local elites at the expense of the court in Beijing.

The scope of wartime suffering and devastation almost certainly was as unprecedented as the Wuxi gazetteer editors aver, even if it had its roots in preexisting tensions. As a result of the war, they observe, there were almost no human survivors in Wuxi. Whole neighborhoods had been reduced to a mess of broken tiles and rubble. Only two in ten residences in the once-flourishing county seat survived. Of those homes that were destroyed, the editors write, the rebels had burned 20 percent and bandits had destroyed 10 percent; militia braves fighting over the spoils had ruined the remainder, and thus the most. Returnees straggling back to the county had found no homes; even migrants saw the rubble and determined it better to move elsewhere. Thus, even in the early 1880s, more than a decade and a half after the Taiping army had been eradicated, the population of the county seat remained sparse and government business continued to be conducted first out of a private residence and then a temple; there had been no money to restore the government offices.[25] It was difficult even to compile the gazetteer because

much of the county's textual heritage had been obliterated in the fighting.[26] Although some rebuilding had taken place, the glories of the days of the Qianlong and Jiaqing emperors, the editors conclude, "will never—and can never—be seen again."[27] There was, they suggest, good reason to believe that the times of peace and prosperity were over and that the war had changed everything. How then to recover?

This sense of cataclysmic loss is echoed in postwar gazetteers from across the Lower Yangzi region. Produced by local elites under the at least nominal oversight of the county magistrate acting at the behest of the provincial governor, these books were typically and often explicitly (and self-interestedly) dedicated to writing down the events of the war, documenting expressions of extraordinary loyalty to the dynasty by local residents, and recording postwar reductions in the tax burden.[28] Anqing Prefecture and its constituent Tongcheng County in Anhui both seem to have been too badly devastated to manage the effort; neither produced a postwar gazetteer.[29] The editors of a gazetteer from Guangde in southern Anhui summarized the local experience of war as follows:

> In 1860, the rebels penetrated the borders of our department (*zhou*), coming and going countless times. Many of the inhabitants suffered and were killed or killed themselves or were captured or starved to death or died in epidemics. Those that died totaled more than half the population. Those that lived had no way to support themselves and all were driven out to the fort in the southern countryside. The fort protected them from danger . . . [as] it was easy to defend. The rebels attacked several times but failed to capture it . . . but when a rebel detachment led by Hong Ronghai broke through the walls and captured [the fort], his men carried out a cruel massacre. None of the residents survived. Between 1860 and 1865, the people could not farm and so they ran out of grain. In the mountains, all of the wild plants were consumed, and people ate each other, which led to the spread of epidemics. There were corpses and skeletons everywhere. The roads were covered with scrub, and for several dozen *li* there was no sign of human life. . . .This was a strange disaster, unprecedented since the beginning of human existence.[30]

The passage makes use of a repertoire of standard phrases to describe disaster, including the dietary descent from grain to wild plants to cannibalism; such stylized narratives and imagery are typical of accounts of warfare in many genres. That many postwar writers resorted to rhetorical patterns and literary allusions to describe their experiences means that we need to be careful not to consider their writings simply as vehicles for articulating

empirical truths. Nor, however, should we reflexively discount them as untruthful. Though these patterned phrases should not and cannot be held to juridical or scientific standards, they enabled authors to convey, in instantly recognizable language, a sense of the war's catastrophic scale. Passages such as this one do not reveal how many people died in a particular place or tell us precisely what the area looked like in the aftermath. And yet this particular account does suggest (in terms that the intended audience would have found meaningful) that in Guangde, as in many other places, the war was a destructive force that left both lives and landscape in ruins.

Many contemporaries observed that the suffering had been unspeakable and, like the Guangde editors, alleged that the destruction had no precedent in human history. For many, suffering and damage were the defining features of their wartime experience. And yet, like the loyal dead, the damage, emotional toll, and destruction of this period subsequently have been overlooked or strategically forgotten. Pain, moral ambivalence, and confusion are not central to the defining paradigms through which we have come to know modern Chinese history. An examination of the human consequences of this war has the potential to transform our understanding of this period, forcing us to rethink the priority we attach to revolution, state, and nation and the absolute commitment we ascribe to allegiances such as "Taiping" or "Qing." For many at the time, these categories were contingent and profoundly unstable.

At home and abroad, then and now, China's mid-century war has never been referred to in neutral terms; its nomenclature has inevitably encoded political positions. In this it resembles the American Civil War, which also has had many names, most of which map onto political and regional affinities. The Qing and its allies referred to their enemies pejoratively as the Hair Rebels (Fa zei, Fa ni) and its armies as the Long Hairs (Changmao), never dignifying the movement by referring to it as the political and territorial regime that it in fact was. They also called them the Southern Rebels or Southern Insurgents (Yue fei, Yue kou), because the movement's leaders and early adherents originated in Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces. The war also has been called the Hong-Yang Rebellion because two of its most visible leaders were surnamed Hong and Yang—and the Red Sheep Rebellion, because the Chinese words for *red* and *sheep* sound like Hong and Yang respectively. Eyewitnesses termed what they experienced the Apocalypse (jie), evoking the disasters associated with the end of a Buddhist era—or

descriptively as the time of fires and soldiers. Proponents of the rebel cause named their movement first the Society of God Worshippers—and then, as they gained momentum, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, or the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace, reflecting the utopian terminology of both the Chinese and Christian classics.[31]

Before the Chinese Revolution of 1949, positive and negative nomenclatures coexisted and were invoked according to the political exigencies of the moment, or the affinities of the writer. In China, for more than five decades, the war has most often been termed the Taiping Revolutionary Movement. In English, we nearly always call it the Taiping Rebellion, inadvertently, or at least unthinkingly, assuming the dynastic perspective.[32] In the mid-nineteenth century, there were competing usages. Those foreigners who favored the Taiping called them "insurgents" or "revolutionaries." That we now almost inevitably use "Rebellion" reflects the British and American decision to side with the Qing.[33] We might, more aptly—given the civilian casualties and exterminatory rhetoric deployed on both sides—call it a total war. Because of the way it was fought, we might call it a war of insurgency and counterinsurgency or a civil war. The term *civil war* also allows that the nineteenth-century Chinese case might not be exotic or exceptional and is in fact comparable in key respects to events in other times and places. By renaming this as a civil war, we can refocus attention on damage and destruction rather than the peculiar vision or ideology of a man and his followers.[34] The term *civil war* eliminates implicit value judgments and transcends the totalizing political and moral narratives that emphasize national priorities over individual and collective suffering.

This was a hard-fought and confusing war prosecuted locally by militias, bandits, captives, mercenaries, and regional armies, many of whom were ambivalent and unreliable allies. It was only in relatively small measure a war fought by the dynasty to suppress a band of religiously inspired rebels from Guangxi. War pitted neighbor against neighbor, and it divided families; war betrayed promises of protection; imperial troops and local militias ran amok, leaving ruination in their wake. War occasioned moral, social, and political confusion and thus commanded renewed clarification of categories, even (or especially) when clarity proved elusive. War also further undermined dynastic legitimacy, and thus paradoxically it called forth intensified expressions of loyalty in its aftermath. Wartime loss, at least briefly, engendered longing for dynastic renewal.

What Remains

This book is centered on the seemingly straightforward questions that preoccupied those who experienced the war. How to explain events that seemed unspeakable, cataclysmic, or even millennial? What changes did war bring to daily life? What to do with all of the dead bodies? How to make sense of death on such a large scale? How to locate lost relatives? How properly to dispose of their remains and with what rituals to commemorate them? How to come to terms with calamitous loss, both material and personal? What to do about the demobilized soldiers of all kinds who continued to trouble civilian society in the war's aftermath?[35] What remained in a world shattered by civil war? And how were communities to be reconstituted, physically and imaginatively? All of these were urgent questions asked explicitly or implicitly by survivors, particularly in the devastated region constituted by southern Jiangsu, northern Zhejiang, and southeastern Anhui provinces. Such questions have not conventionally been asked or considered by scholars either in China or abroad, even though the Taiping movement has generated a voluminous historiography, particularly in Chinese. There is a profound disjuncture between the writings of survivors and how the war has been written about and remembered since its aftermath. Wartime suffering left searing memories in the Lower Yangzi region; and yet it is nearly completely absent from historical accounts that stress immanent nationalism, Christian influences, or failed modernity.

For most of the twentieth century, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was among the most studied subjects in the field of modern Chinese history as practiced in China.[36] Termed the "Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Revolutionary Movement" (Taiping tianguo geming yundong), the period inspired the creation of museums, compilation projects, oral histories, academic journals, and dedicated institutes. Researchers assiduously looked for, verified, organized, and published such Taiping materials that survived the dynasty's postwar efforts to extirpate all traces of the Taiping heterodoxy and gathered materials deemed representative of Qing and foreign perspectives. Their scholarly enthusiasm had a political dimension. Beginning in the early twentieth century, patriotic Chinese politicians and scholars identified the Taiping as a proto-nationalist antecedent to their own revolutionary ambitions.[37] Most famously, as a revolutionary and a Cantonese, Sun Yat-sen styled himself a latter-day Hong Xiuquan. Chiang Kai-shek first identified with the Taiping; later, as he began to promote his own program

of Confucian revivalism, he emphasized an affinity for Zeng Guofan. A Hunan native, Mao Zedong admired Zeng Guofan in his youth and only later developed an appreciation for Hong Xiuquan.[38]

Identification with the Taiping cause became politically orthodox after the 1949 Revolution; the Communist Party embraced the Taiping as their revolutionary predecessors and deliberately identified elements of their own revolution with a particular vision of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Prolific and influential scholars such as Luo Ergang built their careers on making a case for the progressive, patriotic, antifeudal, anti-imperialist, and revolutionary character of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. The Taiping took on tremendous explanatory power as the origin point for the revolutionary trajectory leading to Communist victory in 1949 and onward to the future. The Taiping were thus almost by necessity described as an authentic peasant movement that liberated women and redistributed land. In politically intense periods, such as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution (particularly in the Campaign to Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius), scholarship on the Taiping flourished as a way to comment on contemporary events or to criticize specific (contemporary) political figures.

Beginning in the 1890s, it also became conventional to excoriate individuals such as Zeng Guofan, the triumphant Hunan Army general who defeated the Taiping, as a traitor to the Han race for his loyalty to the Qing.[39] A century later, beginning in the 1990s, he has been, ambivalently rehabilitated along with Confucius as an exemplar of "national values," as part of an officially promoted search for new sources of legitimacy in a world where loyalty to the current system partially trumps Han ethnic nationalism.[40] Even today, however, it is at least moderately transgressive to speak of the Taiping Revolutionary Movement as a civil war. To focus on damage and destruction challenges academic and political vested interests; over the past decade or so some scholars in China have begun to do so, but generally this represents a reversal of prevailing notions of right and wrong, "good" and "bad," and a rejection of scholarly and political orthodoxy in the present.[41] Much political and academic capital has been invested in a positive evaluation of the Taiping movement. To focus on wartime destruction is understood as a negation of the Taiping movement as revolutionary and progressive, and as a critical statement about the post-1949 order.

Some of these scholarly predilections have been absorbed into English-language scholarship on the Taiping period, particularly of an earlier gen-

eration. The Taiping vision and its principal visionary loom large in this literature. Wartime damage and local experience figure more prominently in studies of particular places than in studies of the Taiping rebellion per se.[42] Cold War–era anti-Communist agendas dictated mirroring and appropriating the Chinese narrative of a Taiping Revolutionary Movement but reversed the conclusions from pro to con.[43] Instead of revolutionary and progressive, the Taiping followed a "fanatical religious faith," their ideology was un-Chinese, their system was "primitive," the leaders were "ruthless" and "self-indulgent," and Hong Xiuquan was "clearly mentally ill," while others in the leadership "used crude religious hoaxes to assert authority."[44]

Feminist scholars by contrast embraced the Taiping as their own antecedents; they drew upon Chinese scholarship to locate a feminist utopia among the big-footed woman warriors who marched north out of Guangxi.[45] Also, because of their Christian inspiration, the Taiping attracted disproportionate attention among an earlier generation of Western scholars interested first in China's potential conversion to Christianity or later in "Western impact" and "Chinese response." The question of whether the Taiping religion should be understood as authentically Christian preoccupied missionaries, diplomats, and other observers who visited the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, and it has subsequently loomed large in scholarship on the period. It continues to dominate pedagogy about this period and occasionally resurfaces in the historiography.[46] By deliberate contrast, and probably influenced by Paul Cohen's call (1984) for a "China-centered approach" to Chinese history, other scholars have located the origins of Taiping religious practice in the popular religions of South China. This research combines (to varying degrees) textual reading with ethnographic analysis.[47] Although these works may draw different conclusions regarding the Chinese or Christian basis of Taiping religious thought, many of them share a focus on the movement's principal visionary and the nature and content of his religious vision or ideology.[48]

Rather than looking at the Taiping War against the backdrop of Modern Chinese History, and thus looking for what it has meant in terms of the history of the Chinese revolution(s), I seek to bring the questions and concerns of those who lived through these events into our understanding of this period. This book recalibrates our perspective on these events by decentering the visionaries and generals and focusing on everyday experience. Survivors wrote of terrifying rumors, some of which proved horrifyingly true. They describe senses overwhelmed: a familiar world torn asunder, the

sound of ghosts and neighbors wailing, the stench of death, and the torment of mosquitoes. In a world dominated by moral confusion and loss, people sought to instantiate certainty, to inscribe allegiance, to reweave fraying confidence that the world as it had been could ever be restored. By making a place for individual suffering, loss, religiosity, and emotions, this book transforms our understanding of China's nineteenth century, recontextualizes our understanding of suffering and loss in China during the twentieth century, and invites comparison with war and political violence in other times and places.

Drawing upon published and manuscript sources in many genres, including local gazetteers, diaries, martyrologies, administrative documents, morality books, poetry collections, biographies, religious tracts, legal texts, diplomatic dispatches, travelers' tales, missionary reports, official and unofficial histories, and memoirs, this book captures a broad range of voices, although of course most of those who left written traces were people of at least modest education and social status. In so doing, this study calls attention to the contradictions between individual and local experience and the moralizing imperatives of state-sponsored accounts, whether during the late Qing or subsequently.

Some of the source materials that inform this study have been republished in modern, punctuated editions, while others remain available only in their original manuscript or block-printed form. Some have been disparaged in the Chinese historiography as incorrigibly pro-Qing and thus unreliable or unworthy of consideration except insofar as they provide support for the current conventional wisdom. However, many of the memoirs and diaries so classified in fact are surprisingly critical of the dynasty. In general, elitism and localism play a more important role than a pro-Qing stance; social contempt and native-place bias inform negative description of the Taiping as déclassé outsiders.[49] But there is much more in these sources than disdain for the rebels. Even in semiofficial sources and official documents, we find voices deploring destruction and atrocities committed by the state and its military agents. People made life-changing decisions for reasons of opportunism or survival, or because they had been captured and had no choice, rather than out of moral or political commitment. Their anger, whether at the dynasty, at their situation, at the rebels, or at all of the above, endures in searingly emotional and vivid accounts. There is compelling and consistent evidence of people switching allegiances and making complicated decisions in order to survive. The insistent postwar rhetoric of loyalty to

emperor and state papered over the deep tensions and fissures within the polity that had been exposed and expressed in wartime.

A smaller portion of the sources used in this book were produced by British and American travelers, diplomats, mercenaries, and missionaries who traveled through Taiping territory and commented in writing on what they saw there. Their presence in China helped make the Taiping War an event in world history; through them descriptions of the war were transmitted to a global audience. British parliamentarians debated the merits of neutrality with regard to the Chinese revolutionaries in relation to their stance on the American Confederacy.[50] Travel writers and missionaries donned "native dress" (including false queues) and reported on their experiences tromping through the Chinese countryside in what had become a requisite gesture of cross-cultural masquerade.[51] Other visitors described the war-torn landscape as a sportsman's paradise, where they took advantage of opportunities afforded by the devastation to hunt pheasant, quail, hogs, musk deer, and ducks.[52] Foreign travelers had vested interests ranging from promoting trade to proselytizing Christianity to self-aggrandizement to trying to parse out their own national interest in the Chinese conflict.[53] Racial stereotypes and class consciousness inform their writing in many cases, sometimes in unexpected ways. Like their Chinese counterparts, they saw what they were conditioned to see and used established imagery, literary conventions, and analogies to articulate their experience. What they saw and what they wrote generally reflected what they already thought they knew and biases they inevitably held, not all of which, however, can be predicted on the basis of their status as "imperialists." These foreign writers are not privileged here as "objective eyewitnesses" but rather incorporated into a mix of various perspectives on the war. They provide a counterpoint and thus resonance. They do not, however, provide us with a clear and neutral view.

Conventional categories from the historiography could not contain the unruly information found in the sources. An illustrated pamphlet narrating the war in pictures doubled as a fund-raising text informed by a passionately pro-Qing religious sensibility. The protestations of undying loyalty to dynasty and emperor expressed in gazetteers and shrines masked deep tensions among local, provincial, and metropolitan interests. Commemorative shrines and cemeteries honoring the dynasty's dead turned out also to be tax shelters for local elites who sought to reduce their tax burden in the absence of rent-paying tenants. Practical functions and entertainment intruded into

ostensibly sacred spaces: aquaculture and birthday parties had to be banned, repeatedly, at shrines honoring the loyal and righteous. A late-nineteenth-century county gazetteer from Hunan celebrates the virtue of a righteous woman from Taiping-occupied Nanjing who killed the two Hunan Army men who abducted her, upending the conventional association between the dynasty and moral right. Philanthropists and activist elites formed spirit-talking circles to receive morality books from the gods. They listened for the divine, and sometimes for the dead, even as they used restoration and rebuilding to create an order that better served their collective interests. Their involvement in reconstruction not only was deeply self-interested, it was also inflected by a vibrant religious sensibility.

The things named in the chapter titles are meant to suggest the physicality and evanescence of lived experience and the power of emotions unleashed by loss. The chapters themselves highlight the tension between the centralizing imperatives of state-sponsored accounts and the intimate human details that could not be contained therein. Chapter Two, "Words," introduces Yu Zhi, a charismatic pro-Qing preacher and writer who claimed to represent the dynasty to the populace; he found inspiration and explanation in the divine logic of reward and retribution. Previous scholarship has highlighted the role of activist local elites such as Yu Zhi in wartime mobilization and postwar reconstruction. This chapter focuses on another dimension of elite philanthropy and activism, illuminating how the religious heterodoxy of the Taiping movement was matched by a new religiously inflected vision of imperial orthodoxy.

The next three chapters focus on bodies: living, dead, and commemorated. Chapter Three, "Marked Bodies," examines how wartime identities were articulated and apprehended through tattoos, hairstyle, and clothing. These signified absolute allegiance in a time of highly contingent affinities. And yet, they proved unreliable; even tattoos marked on a captive's face could potentially be erased. A uniform or passport could be cast aside or swapped; a barber might be found to change a hairstyle to facilitate passing. For many, the war left indelible emotional scars, even after what had marked the body was cast aside or overwritten.

Chapter Four, "Bones and Flesh," asks what happened to the dead in Jiangnan. Corpses carried a heavy burden of political symbolism; a landscape littered with dead bodies and bones signaled the profound failure of the ruling regime. Cannibalism, both rumored and real, further indicated that the communal bonds that undergirded society had come undone. In

a world seemingly stripped of its moral underpinnings, stories of corpses that had been lost and found or miraculously preserved bespoke the virtue of individual dead—or the families with whom their bodies were reunited. The act of burying the dead conferred legitimacy on provincial and local officials, or on the philanthropic organizations that joined the effort to properly dispose of bones and flesh.

Chapter Five, "Wood and Ink," centers on efforts to commemorate the war dead in shrines and books. Through commemoration, the dynasty sought to rehabilitate and recapture the allegiance of communities exhausted by civil war. The dead were remembered as martyrs; wartime uncertainty and betrayal officially were overwritten with an insistent narrative of loyalty unto death and dynastic victory. And yet, strong feelings could not be contained. Commemoration at the same time became a vehicle for expressing very different affinities: local people asserted their duty to commemorate family members and neighbors, in wood in the form of shrines, or with ink on the pages of books—even as the victorious Hunan and Anhui armies sought to privilege the memory of their own dead. At all levels, in the war's immediate aftermath, people sought imperial sanction to validate their efforts, even as they deployed the dynasty's institutions to their own purposes.

Chapter Six, "Loss," highlights one man's efforts to honor his murdered mother in a peculiar memory text. Zhang Guanglie, an otherwise obscure man, deliberately invokes the structures of official commemoration only to declare them inadequate to represent or contain his memories and feelings. Zhang documents his own deeply personal quest for meaning and consolation in face of devastating loss. Wartime pain, moreover, eventually found expression through new media. Newspapers such as *Shenbao* transmitted stories and facilitated formation and mobilization of new types of community, in some cases grounded in bitter experience.

Violence and commemoration reshaped postwar communities and reconfigured how people understood the political and social worlds that they inhabited. Bodies, dead and alive, bore the physical marks of wartime experience. The Taiping inscribed the words "Taiping Heavenly Kingdom" on the faces of their captives; men pondered the political implications of hair. Corpses and coffins predictably were restored to grieving families under mysterious circumstances. Cannibalism provided a metaphor for social collapse; it also provided sustenance in devastated communities. The bodies of the righteous dead did not decompose; the spirit of a beloved sister returned after death to offer reassurance that she had died well. These stories suggest

the manifold and potentially lingering ways in which raw emotions and deep injury shaped people's relationships to their families, to the state, and to each other. Here, the sources are read close to the ground, below the lofty retrospective frameworks of dynastic loyalty and revolution in service to which they were later appropriated. By looking at how people in mid-nineteenth-century China came to terms with civil war, we gain a new perspective on their world, and perhaps on ours as well.

CHAPTER TWO

Words

War engendered religious passion, and not just on the Taiping side. This was a war inspired by the iconoclasm of a failed examination candidate who believed himself to be God's second son. His fervor was, however, matched by that of more orthodox visionaries who described the war as a punishment visited upon their communities by divine forces angered by waste, disloyalty, and immoral dramas. Many in Jiangnan invoked time-honored religious paradigms to account for carnage heard about, witnessed, or survived, and sought guarantees of safety in the divine logic of reward and retribution. Itinerant preachers, school teachers, and lecturers proclaimed that frugality, orthodoxy in family relationships, respect for staple grains, abstemiousness, vegetarianism, and the practice of honoring the written word by collecting and disposing of scraps of paper all had talismanic power against death, loss, war, and disease.

The dynasty's supporters promoted inspirational lectures and talks on the Sacred Edict as part of a broader strategy for local defense and to awaken the masses to their proper political obligations, drawing in the process upon the rhetoric of popular religion.[1] Good words delivered in print or heard in speech could confer security on both individuals and



Figure 2.1. Portrait of Yu Zhi

their communities. Books promising to reveal the secrets of reward and retribution proliferated. Educated men formed spirit-writing associations and called upon deities to dictate guidance for human behavior through a device called the planchette (fuji).[2] Wenchang, patron deity of the civil service examinations and protector of local communities, in this way delivered morality books to philanthropic organizations during wartime and received imperial honors in recognition of his divine efficacy. Postwar gazetteers cite imperial honors granted to particular City Gods for protecting their districts against enemy atrocities.[3] Revivalist forms of Confucian moralism countered alternatives like that offered by the charismatically inspired Taiping.[4] A religious vision of the dynastic order, newly awakened, answered the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom.[5] In both cases, prophets emerged out of the unquiet lower ranks of the civil service examination system, China's state-sanctioned and time-tested route to wealth and power.[6]

This chapter focuses on one evangelist for the Quig order, Yu Zhi (1809–1874), whose life and works shed light on the religious passions animating local elite responses to the war. A crusader for cultural renewal and moral transformation before, during, and after the war, he is representative of the class of activist local elites who mobilized their neighbors into militias, buried the dead, and rebuilt society to their own purposes once the fighting was over. Yu Zhi was a five-time failed examination candidate, schoolteacher, Wenchang devotee, and philanthropic organizer from rural Wuxi County in Jiangsu Province, whose wartime activities propelled him from rural obscurity to influence and connections in other places, including cosmopolitan postwar Shanghai, where he hobnobbed with some of the most powerful and prominent men of his time. His name was known to Li Hongzhang, founding general of the Huai Army and a leading official of the era.

Yu Zhi promoted his views widely in pamphlets; his writings on female infanticide even, unbeknownst to him, found their way to Europe through the compilation efforts of a French Catholic missionary.[7] He promoted a model of elite activism and philanthropy that was widely adopted in the lower Yangzi region both during the war and in its aftermath. Yu Zhi's disciples played a leading role in raising funds in response to the Great North China Famine of 1876–1879, and they made use of methods that he had developed in the context of the mid-century civil war. In his writings and social practice, Yu Zhi tried to clarify the war's meanings for his audience and to accomplish his prior goals of moral transformation in its shadow. An

eyewitness to wartime suffering, Yu Zhi was a prominent, vocal, and well-connected spokesman for the particular form of religiously inspired moral conservatism that rose to new prominence during the Taiping war.

Yu wrote of war, violence, and community in a variety of linguistic registers and genres, publishing and distributing pamphlets, plays, and morality books through various printing concerns, prophesying death and destruction for those who did not reform their wicked ways. In Yu Zhi's many writings about the war, he figures himself as an eyewitness, a survivor, and sometimes even as a visionary, interpreting the violence and suffering of his times variously as a natural disaster, contagious disease, harbinger of apocalypse, and especially as divine punishment. He also portrays himself (and is portrayed by others) in the act of exhorting and enlightening the benighted masses, or in the words of his contemporary Yan Chen, "guiding and transforming the ignorant."[8] And yet, his use of religious rhetoric was not purely instrumental, and he was not an outsider to the beliefs and customs that he sought to transform. Philanthropy and moral exhortation were part of his religious practice; his beliefs provided medium and content for his pro-dynastic political message.[9]

Beginning with the fall of Nanjing in 1853, Yu Zhi explained wartime experience in terms of reward and retribution. With exhortatory passions inflamed, Yu Zhi sought with his moral productions, both published and theatrical, to enact centralization and civilization; his writings, dramas, and lectures celebrate the symbolic viability of a moral and political order that had been profoundly challenged by war. At the same time, his vision affirmed the place of the locality, and especially of those local elites that sided with the Qing, as the site and proper agents of order and of moral and political transformation. With the war at some remove, Yu Zhi described it as a warning to those who had not yet encountered catastrophe. Writing from Wuxi in the 1850s, after the fall of Nanjing, Yu Zhi composed inspirational speeches promising salvation to those who mended their ways, portraying in colorful call and response the contrasting fates of the saved and the damned. He insisted on the symbolic potency of the emperor, identifying the interests of his community with those of the Qing through calls for revitalizing imperially inspired institutions such as recitation of the Sacred Edict.[10] He also published "The Precious Volume in which Mr. Pan [explains] How to Avoid Catastrophe," a religious text accounting for the fall of Nanjing. And in all of these media, he warned the people of his county to rectify their wicked ways and thereby avoid disaster.

When the war came to his village in 1860, driving Yu's brother to suicide and Yu himself into itinerant exile, his apocalyptic message was channeled into communitarian and political objectives. As one of his contemporaries observed, "When distress and misery were everywhere and the rebels overran the region, those waiting to die were even more numerous, and those making donations were ever fewer. At this time he [Yu Zhi] traveled around soliciting donations . . . he saved countless lives."[11] Influenced by immediate experience, he became involved in programs to raise money to provision local militias. He frantically called for merciful treatment for those who had been captured by the Taiping and pressed into their service; these individuals were after all, in many cases, also members of his extended community. He also intensified his long-standing commitment to elite-organized philanthropy and sought to raise money to provide material assistance for Jiangnan refugees with whom he strongly identified.

For that purpose, at war's end in 1864 he composed a vivid illustrated account of violence, Taiping occupation, and Qing reconquest designed to elicit donations. This pamphlet, with powerful representations of disorder—and order restored—reflects Yu's philanthropic, political, and religious commitments. It too is framed in terms of reward and retribution, proclaiming that readers must help now, or risk future disaster in their own regions.[12] Ultimately, Yu Zhi portrayed the war as both a harbinger of apocalypse and an opportunity for redemption, a painful but effective lesson in moral transformation. He advocated for a state-sanctioned, communally centered, hierarchical, and religiously legitimated social order, precisely as that order, and that understanding of society, was coming unglued. He did this through organized philanthropy, which in the late Qing was closely associated with spirit-writing and notions of divine reward and retribution.[13] Yu Zhi's response to the war thus was not simply one of activist elites reestablishing order and thereby promoting gentry interests and power vis-à-vis a failing bureaucracy or militarization of local society or even about social dynamics around tax and rent—although it was of course in some measure all of these things.[14] It was also an expression of an intense religious sensibility.

Text as Talisman

For men like Yu Zhi, the written word had tremendous charisma. It was obviously the instrument through which one could achieve social status via the civil service examinations. Moreover, writing (specifically, paper or cloth bear-

ing writing) had special potency—and vulnerability. The written word required protection against pollution; improper use or disposal of paper bearing the written word could call down supernatural punishment, even if the misuse was accidental. The risks were many, and from our vantage point peculiar: the written word was not to be used in the soles of shoes or in shoe patterns, and wives and daughters were enjoined instead to use plain paper patterns.[15] Shop names were not to be printed on the paper used to wrap purchases; the careful storekeeper ought instead to substitute brand-evoking rebuses. Text was forbidden on the paper used to make umbrellas, candle cores, doors and windows, joss paper, and toilet paper—all sites and functions deemed vulnerable to pollution. Nor were potters to inscribe characters on the base of ceramic vessels, presumably because the base of a pot or bowl was base, and thus debased.[16] Believers imagined connections between the physical use of the written word in polluting contexts, and the pollution of the word through its misuse in materials that included lascivious books and broadsheets.[17] In the mid-nineteenth century, societies to cherish the written word pursued bans against dramas and publications whose content they deemed polluting.[18] Owing to a correlative link between the body and the word, members of associations to protect the written word were also concerned by analogy with the proper burial of dead bodies, and many societies took on functions such as providing coffins and burying the indigent.[19] Presumably these latter tasks became even more urgent during wartime; certainly local philanthropic organizations of all types proliferated during and after the war.

Treasuring the written word came to be closely associated with other types of philanthropic practice in the late imperial period. During the late Ming, treasuring the written word had been practiced individually as a form self-cultivation. In the early Qing, it became a collective activity linked to philanthropic action practiced by communities of aspiring examination candidates, and eventually by local elites, merchants, shopkeepers, and others further down the social ladder.[20] As philanthropic associations in general grew prevalent in the early nineteenth century in response to social and economic tensions and the retreat of the Qing state from its previous involvement in local welfare arrangements, collective efforts to treasure the written word in some cases came under the purview of or spawned general philanthropic associations organized by local elites.

In this context, men who shared a commitment to protecting the written word formed groups that would then hire workers to collect scraps of paper from streets, canals, and other public places. The association to treasure the

written word in Changzhou, for example, provided uniforms, hats, shoes, and bags for the collectors and paid for special vessels in which the collected scraps were burned. They then made arrangements for the ashes to be transported to the river or the sea, where they were released into the purifying waters.[21] Apparently, the Taiping side also gathered paper with writing on it: elderly persons were engaged to sweep the streets and collect paper with writing in areas occupied by Taiping forces. Indeed, although the Taiping rank and file and leadership were widely reviled by their enemies as illiterate, they appear to have revered the written word and treated it as talismanic, suggesting either that they were perhaps less illiterate than their detractors claimed or that they, like their counterparts, could see morally transformative potential in words.[22] The Taiping (like their Qing counterparts) sought to use words symbolically to build a new social order and materially to publicize their religious beliefs.

Like burial societies, lifeboat brigades, and homes for indigent widows and orphans, societies that were organized to promote the proper collection and disposal of paper with writing represented an important subcategory of philanthropic organization, and indeed, these were often grouped together under the purview of multipurpose benevolent societies or benevolence halls. These activities had a strong religious dimension. Members of mid-nineteenth-century philanthropic associations, including associations to treasure the written word, sought divine sanction and participation; the spirit-writing platform through which deities recorded morality books to guide human practice occupied a central place both spatially and emotionally in the charitable halls of late Qing Jiangnan.[23] The charitable halls themselves were often housed in temples. Many philanthropic organizations submitted their annual reports to both the City God and the local magistrate.[24] The activities of these organizations centered on the notion of *shan*, a Chinese term that roughly correlates with the English word "good works" but that also is etymologically linked to the term *shanhou*, which was widely used to mean postwar recovery.[25]

The same men who formed associations to treasure the written word and participated in other philanthropic activities and organizations also actively produced and distributed meritorious books (shan shu).[26] Particularly beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, some book dealers, often located in temples or connected with benevolence halls (shan tang), specialized in these works.[27] Patrons were associated with spirit-writing and philanthropic circles; these connections often were made explicit in the prefaces and postfaces

of such publications, which seem also to have become more prevalent—and more exuberantly eschatological—in the middle to late nineteenth century.[28] An elastic genre, "meritorious books," included illustrated primers, guides to proper behavior and self-cultivation (such as ledgers of merit and demerit), songs, dramas, writings by and about deities exhorting moral transformation, and medical texts. Yu Zhi's *oeuvre* includes writings in all but the last of these categories. Although such texts clearly had little in common in terms of content, those who wrote them and paid for their publication did so out of an expectation that production and distribution would, like other righteous acts, generate merit, accruing divine protection or compensation for the donor. Even Yu Zhi's most famous work, a comprehensive set of guidelines for operating philanthropic organizations, was published in anticipation of merit and reward. For the men and women who sponsored publication of texts deemed efficacious in the calculus of reward and retribution (or who hand-copied and circulated them), writing as both artifact and action had protective power in an age when the need for such protection was both well known and widespread, and when meritorious books took on an increasingly apocalyptic tone.

The worldly and religious power of writing came together in the cult of Lord Wenchang, the divine patron of civil service examinations, a deity whose influence was on the ascendant during the mid-nineteenth century, and in whose name many Jiangnan men, including Yu Zhi, participated in cherishing the written word, attended spirit-writing sessions, promoted circulation of meritorious books, and involved themselves in philanthropic associations.[29] Crisis and rebellion made Wenchang an increasingly attractive deity, from the perspective of both state and local societies. In addition to his role as patron of the examinations, Wenchang was conceived of more broadly as a protector deity. He also adjudicated reward and retribution as the keeper of the Cinnamon Record, "a constantly updated ledger of men and their fates as ordained by Heaven and modified by their own moral behavior."[30] He was one of the Three Benevolent Lords, a trio of gods frequently called down by spirit-writing groups, which, though technically illegal in the Qing, also benefited from official patronage and even official participation.[31]

Declared eligible for state sacrifices by the dynasty in 1801 because of his intercession on behalf of the Qing in the White Lotus Rebellion in Sichuan, Wenchang received further recognition in the mid-nineteenth century, culminating in his wartime elevation to a level comparable to Guandi (the god of war) and Confucius.[32]

Yu Zhi became interested in the Wenchang cult as an adolescent, and his growing involvement paralleled the deity's growing importance in state ritual and religion. Yu Zhi first adopted the practices of "cherishing the written word" on his own as an aspiring examination candidate, carrying a special bag with him in which to deposit found scraps of paper, in hopes of thereby accumulating merit and earning the favorable intercession of the deity.[33] In 1835, Yu Zhi formalized his devotional practice by organizing an association to promote "cherishing the written word" in his village. Subsequently, he worked to expand the group and composed bylaws to provide structure for its activities. In this way, he also began his lifelong involvement with organized philanthropy, and indeed, his religious commitment appears to have been deeply entangled with his charitable practice and his pro-dynastic political views.

Avatars of Wenchang appear often in Yu Zhi's wartime writings, although they are not always so identified. The protector of community and nation, the keeper of the ledgers of human fate, and the speaker in tongues whose voice is mediated through the planchette: all of these are faces of Wenchang. All were channeled by Yu Zhi as he fulminated against the crises of his times. In his writings, he speaks, and writes, inspired by a vision of reward and retribution, of human fate altered by moral awakening, of underworld bureaucrats who send messages of salvation in dreams, and of gods offended by the stench of privies and wasted grain—or moved to defend the state (or a particular locale) by communal emanations of loyalty and filial piety.[34] Through his religious and philanthropic activities, he engaged two traditions considered by his contemporaries to be particularly strong in southeastern Jiangnan: worship of Wenchang, and the collective practice of philanthropy. The association reflects the assemblage of religious belief, organizational acumen, fetishization of writing, concern with pollution (both physical and spiritual), and abstemiousness that typified his subsequent practice and rhetoric and indeed conditioned his later response to the Taiping war. His involvement in "Cherishing the Written Word" extended beyond concern over the physical contamination of pages with writing to what became, beginning in the mid-1840s, a lifelong determination to eradicate lascivious texts, which he saw as polluting community morals and which he later came to see as inciting political and religious heterodoxy. It also involved him, urgently, in a host of other tasks associated with maintenance of local order, including raising and provisioning militias, promoting timely payment of rents and taxes, burying the dead,

creating congee kitchens to feed the starving, public recitation of the Sacred Edict, and fundraising on behalf of refugees.

Speaking of Community

Yu Zhi conceived of community as constituted through and bounded by the spoken word. Speech communicated values and at the same time, especially in ritual contexts, actualized hierarchies within a stratified community imagined as an audience of gentry, elders, and commoners. Speech awakened listeners, including by definition those too ignorant to read. Even in print, Yu Zhi speaks of speech, of words painful to utter and necessary to hear, and of communities constituted or healed through the performance of correct dramas and lectures on the Sacred Edict. These communities were local, almost by definition, and in his earliest writings on the Taiping threat they were also rural. They extended as far as the speaker's voice was audible, even as the spoken words prescribed roles that imagined the audience within a larger realm. Yu evangelized for moral and political transformation—he sought, through the spoken word, sometimes uttered in dialect, to transform his audience of ignorant sinners into a community of righteous subjects. He was not alone in this. Other men of similar background lectured (even hectored) their communities in order to inspire them to donate to and participate in militia resistance.[35]

The fall of Nanjing to Taiping forces in 1853 seems to have had a galvanizing effect on Yu Zhi. It spurred him to action—and to more talk. He launched fund-raising efforts on behalf of the dynasty and supported local militias. Between 1855 and 1860, Yu raised money and delivered donated supplies to the Qing forces stationed at the Great Jiangnan Encampment just outside the walls of Nanjing.[36] He also fulminated against ideological deviance and moral degeneracy. Heterodoxy was on the ascendant, with bandits and religious rebels proclaiming seductive messages of disorder, the end of rents, and eradication of the "demon-Manchus." Illness in the body politic had reached a critical juncture, and from the brink of apocalypse Yu Zhi envisioned solutions that were to emanate from local communities. In particular, he called attention to existing institutions such as the village lecture and schools, arguing that these needed to be revitalized in order to offset public susceptibility to the rebel message.[37] Yu Zhi articulated a vision that was palatable to those in power, even as he claimed to speak for and have the ear of the masses.

Even before the war he had agitated, speaking out against lascivious books and dramas and the practice of infanticide.[38] He railed publicly against the moral degeneracy engendered by popular theatricals, on at least one occasion mounting the stage, wailing, knocking his head, and exhorting an audience to desist from their decadent ways. Here, we see Yu portrayed in a characteristically dramatic "staging of Confucian moral ideology," and here again, we see the fervor that he brought to the task of commanding righteous behavior in front of an audience.[39] Yet in spite of his repeated warnings that moral degeneracy would beget catastrophe, the people had not listened—and with catastrophe looming, Yu Zhi redoubled his efforts. During the war, Yu Zhi wrote of the power of speech to bind communities, even as he used vernacular media, including plays, religious tales, and songs, to communicate the same messages in practice. In his own writings he presents himself speaking of community, and through speech seeking to narrate his version of order into the community. He projects his vision of the village lecture as a cure for society's ills, and he develops religious texts themselves meant to be presented aloud, containing scenes that depict the power of speech to repair the rural social order.

The spoken word could shield communities from war and heterodoxy, or so Yu Zhi and his peers argued. In the early 1850s, Yu Zhi identified the rural compact (*xiangyue*), or village lecture, as the ideal vehicle through which community morals and political health could be improved. These were semi-monthly lectures elucidating imperially sanctioned moral teachings, by way of the Sacred Edict of the Kangxi emperor as interpreted by the Yongzheng emperor.[40] Presented in the vernacular, in the form of direct addresses to the community, the lectures could be accompanied by illustrations and songs.[41] The semi-monthly lectures were to highlight the importance of proper and harmonious relationships, moderation, diligence, full and punctual payment of taxes, and extirpation of "strange principles."[42]

By the early 1850s, the Sacred Edict's possible function as a hedge against heterodoxy was well established, even though in practice the lectures seem to have lapsed or become stale. Officials anxious about the proliferation of rebellious sects, including the Taiping, argued that the Sacred Edict should be taught in all schools to prevent students from turning to charismatic heterodoxy. At the same time many contemporaries, including Yu Zhi, expressed concern that the minds of the people were far more susceptible to the attractions of "lascivious dramas" and sectarian religion than they were receptive to the pro-dynastic messages mandated for the first and fifteenth

of every month. The war, and in particular the challenge posed by Taiping ideology, itself framed and often delivered in speech, gave new impetus to those who sought ideological revitalization.[43] In 1853, Yu Zhi submitted a petition asking for permission to lecture on the Sacred Edict in order to help combat the new challenge posed by the rebel government in Nanjing and the ongoing threat of social disorder in his home region, phenomena that were, to his mind, intimately interconnected.[44]

Yu Zhi suggested that the local team of lecturers and assistants lacked the speaking skills to hold the community's attention. With experience lecturing to primary school students from his years as a teacher in a village school, his self-professed skills as an orator, and his ability to utter moral messages in a range of vernacular registers, Yu Zhi offered his services to the state as a semiofficial or subofficial propagandist and began work in 1853 as a professional lecturer on the Sacred Edict. A year later, the Jiangsu education commissioner expressed concern that the local militias were falling short of expectations for local defense and called upon a select group of men to discuss strategies for improvement. In language reminiscent of that used by Yu Zhi, Zheng Jing, a Jiangyin man who was present on that occasion, proposed enhanced village lectures as a solution to the militia problem.[45] Improved lectures, Zheng argued, would "illuminate the loyalty and righteousness of the troops," improve their conduct, and strengthen their resolve. Yu Zhi and Zheng Jing both were part of a larger group of advocates who sought to apply the lecture format to wartime social and political problems. Indeed, Zheng Jing explains that Yu Zhi was recruited to organize Village Lecture Bureaus in Changzhou Prefecture, and, with the approval and supervision of the provincial education commissioner, they expanded the practice throughout southeastern Jiangsu.[46] By 1857, concerned that the Sacred Edict alone might be too difficult for ordinary people to memorize and recite, Yu Zhi began to compose and distribute songs and jingles exhorting moral transformation in order to supplement his lectures.[47]

In an essay entitled "The Village Lecture Is the Most Urgent Task to Save the Age" (1853), Yu Zhi uses a medical analogy to explain the importance of the village lecture as a bolster to public order. He opens by noting that his audience might suspect that the most urgent wartime task must be militia defenses, and that careful attention to village lectures at such a moment might be considered "nothing short of foolish."[48] He concedes that attention to militia defenses was undoubtedly important, but that

such defenses "are for the surface, while the purpose of the village lecture is to strengthen the core." Indeed, he argues, in the absence of ideologically fortifying lectures the militias not only would not be effective but also might become unruly and fight each other or prey upon the communities they were supposed to protect.[49] He develops the medical analogy further, positing that the ideal solution to the looming crisis is to strengthen the "orthodox" or "orthopathic" *qi* (zheng qi) in order to expel the "heterodox" or "heteropathic" *qi* (xie qi), deploying terms that are to be understood as simultaneously medical and political in their implications.[50]

He argues that at a moment when "tigers and wolves proffer poison while swallows and finches are oblivious to the crisis in their nests," and while "millions of people have abandoned [state-sanctioned] moral education (shi jiao)" the only way to effect a cure is to transform the human mind and customs through the village lecture.[51] Speech thus plays the role of medical supplement: the situation is comparable to that of a person who is normally healthy but has suddenly fallen severely ill: "We rush to give them ginseng and milfoil [both conventionally administered as supplements] to build up their strength, so that they can fight off the illness, for to sit still and witness their dying would be inhuman." The village lecture, he suggests, would function like milfoil and ginseng, giving strength to the dynasty so that the heterodox toxins could be resisted more effectively.[52] It was thus of essential, even existential, importance.

The absence of effective didactic speech would create an opening for dangerous alternatives:

> If one sits by as usual and watches and does not transform by teaching, soon enough a villain [i.e. Hong Xiuquan] will seize the opportunity created by a minor crisis, deceive people, and raise a revolt. He will enjoin hundreds of thousands of people to take up his call and flock to him. In an instant, this will foment a huge disaster. People will want to leave [him] but who is providing a safe haven? They seek protection, but who can they rely on? To initiate transformation by lecturing at this juncture, indeed it is already late! Indeed it is overdue![53]

Yu Zhi sharply criticizes officials for failing to offer a coherent response, and he notes that by the time the relevant officials are promoted or cashiered, local interests have already been harmed. In a moment of official collapse, Yu Zhi and his peers stood ready to step into the breach left by a collapsing bureaucracy and failed military. There is a strong message here: armed with the spoken word, local activists are better equipped than officials to achieve

public order, and to restore the symbols of the dynasty's moral and political authority. He thus demonstrates the critical role to be played by men like himself in interpreting imperial power.

War as Retribution

In writings that responded to the fall of Nanjing, Yu Zhi fitted wartime experience, especially violence, into a religiously inspired matrix of reward and retribution: those who suffered did so because they transgressed, and those not yet punished must take advantage of the opportunity offered by this divine lesson to rectify their wicked ways and thereby be saved. A foreign missionary, describing his travels to Nanjing in 1861 to meet with the Taiping, made note of the prevalence of such views:

> A time of calamity in China induces many persons to publish short tracts exhorting the people to repent of the sins which have drawn upon them the vengeance of their divinities. We noticed one of these, in the form of a printed sheet, pasted on the wall of a ruined temple [near Danyang]. It urged the reader to reflect that the present disasters of the country were caused by the sins of the inhabitants, and promised that on their repentance there should be peace and happiness again prevailing throughout the land. The gods, in place of being angry, would smile on them once more.[54]

In this mode and also in this genre, Yu Zhi figures the fall of Nanjing, Yangzhou, and Zhenjiang as divine retribution for a constellation of misbehaviors that, even if not inherently urban, seem to have been imagined by Yu as characteristic of, and concentrated in, the big cities of the Yangzi delta region. Indeed, images of urban vice and rural virtue underpin several of his early wartime essays on the fate of Nanjing: three cities had fallen, and indeed deserved to fall, but there was still hope for the countryside, where concentrated emanations of virtuous behavior might assuage heavenly anger and protect the community. One central question for Yu was who was dying and why: if the war is divine punishment, then those who suffer deserve their suffering. Those who die are not martyrs to the dynastic cause, but rather, those who have failed to recognize the error of their ways. In sharp contrast with the commemorative activities later orchestrated by local elites acting in concert with the provincial government, Yu Zhi seems to argue that true virtue lies in correct living, rather than in dying for the dynastic cause.[55]

In 1853, anxiety about the rebel presence in Nanjing, Yangzhou, and Zhenjiang fueled rumors about an imminent Taiping attack on Wuxi and

Suzhou. Although these fears diminished as an eastward campaign came to seem less likely, disconcerting news of atrocities committed by both sides, and persistent tensions over rent refusal and tax resistance more locally, contributed to Yu Zhi's unsettled mood. Writing in 1853, not long after the cities of Nanjing, Yangzhou, and Zhenjiang had fallen to the Taiping, Yu Zhi fulminated against the moral failings that he saw as responsible for recent and impending disaster in a statement entitled "Turbulent Waves in a Sea of Calamity" (Jiehai huilan qi).[56] The text simulates speech, both through its potent vernacular style and through the margins larded with expressions of affirmation ostensibly from an audience moved to agreement by the compelling moral force of Yu Zhi's (spoken) language. Here, Yu rails against the failings of the age and conjures the violence of recent experience. He asks his audience, imagined as the local community: "What times are these? And what circumstances?" He concludes that in these times and circumstances people exist "as if they were still sound asleep and not yet awake."[57] And yet in such times, and under such circumstances, appalling and unspeakable violence is everywhere: "The whole world quakes and human life shatters to dust. The accumulated bones add up to a mountain and the flowing blood forms a river. To hear of it hurts the heart, and to speak of it embitters the nose."[58] The violence, he assures his readers (or listeners), is an impetus to awaken—and awakening will lead to personal and communal salvation.[59]

Yu finds a message lodged in the horror of the war that had consumed cities that were near, but not too near—a powerful warning of calamity afflicting only the unrighteous. He cites the recent suffering in Nanjing, Yangzhou, and Zhenjiang as an example of heavenly punishment visited upon the wicked. He thus claims to "speak the unspeakable" to evoke suffering and inspire transformation for those who had the opportunity to witness events from a safe remove. The pain experienced by others should motivate action, he argues. This is not the time to "eat, drink, and be merry."[60] Instead, it is the time for our people—and here he seems to mean specifically the people of his home region—to know fear, reflect on error, and change their wayward ways. The people of Wuxi County are hungry and vulnerable, he proclaims, in a moment rife with rumors of impending rebel attack.[61] And yet they have an opportunity to save themselves. His community must be awakened to righteousness. The "tumbled cart ahead" provides the opportunity for those behind to repent and reform.

Yu establishes that the people of the three fallen cities had angered heaven with their misbehavior, and their individual and collective suffering

was thus natural and deserved. He stages their depravity in narrative asides, writing that he himself had been to Nanjing, Yangzhou, and Zhenjiang, and indeed, "had seen the decadence and reckless waste!"[62] He explains that even the wealthy of these cities had been stingy and refused to contribute to the anti-rebel cause. When the cities fell, these same individuals were captured and carried off, or their children were forced to do hard labor, and their hidden gold was uncovered and taken away. Even then, in their moment of suffering, the wicked people refused to share even a drop of water.[63] He further reports that once, when he was in Nanjing, he observed that by custom the people of the city wasted rice and other grains, and that "advertisements for abortions and aphrodisiacs were posted up even in the latrines!" They thus had violated the cosmic order by wasting life-giving grain and contaminated the written word by using it in polluting contexts, both literal and figurative.[64] His litany of transgressions continues: the people of Nanjing, Yangzhou, and Zhenjiang have been litigious, they have pursued private vendettas through public channels, and they have been led into immorality and rebelliousness by decadent theatricals. Such abominations angered heaven and brought retribution in the form of rebel occupation.[65] The people of Nanjing, Zhenjiang, and Yangzhou had sinned collectively, and collectively they were punished. By extension, he argues, other communities might avoid disaster through self-reflection and right action.[66]

In "Turbulent Waves in the Sea of Catastrophe," Yu Zhi argues that the good people of Changzhou Prefecture (here termed "*wu di*" or "our hometown") have enjoyed a temporary reprieve and thus been offered an opportunity to reform. He offers a list of necessary steps, a recipe for righteous action clearly grounded in his own beliefs and practice. They must shut down the local wine shops and teahouses, stop the performance and publication of wicked dramas, close the brothels, and cease their gluttony. They should donate generously to the Qing military cause, raise militias, and ban lascivious and rebellious plays like *The Western Wing* (Xixiang ji) and *The Water Margin* (Shuihu zhuan).[67] They must practice vegetarianism, reflect upon their transgressions, and reinvigorate a culture of righteousness, transforming themselves in the process. They must emanate loyalty and filial piety collectively, as a community, and repay imperial and parental grace in order to express the goodness of their hearts and minds.[68] They should, in short, model themselves after communities like Zitong County in Sichuan, which had, according to Yu Zhi's version of events, saved itself during the cataclysmic Zhang Xianzhong rebellion of the seventeenth century through

vigorous communal expression of normative values and the intervention of a sympathetic deity, clearly meant to be understood as Wenchang, whose cult originated in Zitong.[69] Here Yu offers many examples, of people and communities who, through righteous deeds and right-intentioned oaths, had survived the Taiping onslaught. He thereby makes the case that even the most ordinary person has the capacity for virtuous action and that by accumulating merit anyone can be saved from the current cataclysm.[70]

Like countless others (before and since), Yu Zhi figures loyalty as analogous to filial piety. Both values were understood as essential to the functioning of proper human relationships, and by extension the polity. Their expression thus was seen as an indicator of social and political health. Heaven in its role as humanity's parent or teacher sent the rebellion as a violent reminder, a metaphorical beating, to remind humanity of the need to restore the cosmic order through loyalty and filial piety. To that end, the people of his home region should honor the dynasty, honor their ancestors, exhaust their fortunes in support of the military, defend their hometowns, and reform their ways. They would then be protected from the rebels.[71] He argues that every person in the empire, no matter how humble, is in effect the emperor's minister, with an obligation to requite imperial benevolence with loyalty. And yet, the emperor here is rendered as an abstraction, a figurehead, unspecified, and depersonified. Thus, Yu focuses on the importance of generals and officials and ordinary people acting on behalf of the emperor, and the obligation that all subjects owe to the symbolic center. He imagines this obligation as both personal and hereditary: the individual subject owes the emperor both for debts incurred both in his present lifetime and (especially) for abundance enjoyed by his ancestors in previous generations, even as correct deeds in this lifetime could inoculate one's descendants against future punishment.

In responding to the recent fall of Nanjing, Yu Zhi offers an absolute and puritanical vision of proper social relations, spewing invective against the cultural degeneracy of his times. As a corrective, he authored proper alternatives to what he saw as salacious dramas, a project that he continued to work on throughout the war and returned to again, with limited success, in postwar Shanghai. The war, and the moral messages it engendered, featured prominently in both the plays themselves and in the paratext that framed them.

In a lyric written to accompany his morally correct dramas, Yu Zhi rages against the rebels, blaming the cultural failings of the age for their appar-

ent triumph, and offering his own dramas as a purgative cure. He terms those who have joined the rebels "clowns, skipping on a bridge," or "fighting mantises" who have "turned their backs, forgotten grace, and abandoned righteousness." He labels the common people "fools," pathetic for their ignorance and for succumbing to the delusion that by joining the rebel regime they will achieve high office. He lambastes them for failing to recognize that "what *he* [clearly a reference to Hong Xiuquan] says about Heaven and the Father is mostly nonsense," noting that "the road of chaos leads them [the people] to give their lives as instruments of murder." He bemoans the rebel regime's orders to destroy images and oppress the gods, "without regard for our three religions, visiting ruination on the gates of temples." He conjures the cries and wails of suffering people, and continues in an accusatory mode: "Such times stir the hearts of men of stone and iron! Who has no parents? Who has no wife and children? How can we coexist with these murderers? How can we give in and allow them to kill people everywhere as if they were cutting grass?"[72] He reiterates that "in spite of its current difficulties," the dynasty is still worthy of gratitude for two centuries of "peaceful months and days."[73] He concludes his passionate tirade with an entreaty: men of means should contribute as much as possible in support of the war effort and the common people should be encouraged to repay their imperial father.[74] Communities that collectively manifested orthodox values would be protected from disaster. The wicked had been punished, and would be again. Moral awakening would protect the people of southeast Jiangnan, saving them from the calamitous fate that had engulfed residents of the fallen cities nearby.

Good Words and Salvation

Yu Zhi also appears to have authored at least one religious text, and possibly several, meant to be recited aloud, in the genre called *baojuan*, or precious volumes.[75] By the mid-nineteenth century, the generic boundary between precious volumes and meritorious books had largely eroded; they promoted similar values, expressed similar religious sensibilities, and in many cases were produced by the same individuals. According to Daniel Overmyer, *baojuan* were understood as revelations of "primordial truth" appearing just before the chaos and destruction at the end of an age to deliver a message of deliverance by exhorting listeners to change their wicked ways.[76] Typically, these texts combined alternating passages of prose and rhyme. If listeners followed the instructions narrated out loud in the text, they could be saved

from the catastrophe that threatened to consume the world. By returning to filial piety, loyalty, humility, abstention from killing, and vegetarianism, the populace could accumulate merit and avoid disaster and perhaps even stave off the impending apocalypse.

Written in the mid-1850s (1854–1855), with the ongoing rural crisis and the recent rebel occupation of Nanjing both very much in the background, "The Precious Volume in which Mr. Pan [explains] How to Avoid Catastrophe" (*Pan gong mian zai baojuan*) tells the story of Yu Zhi's righteous friend, Pan Zengyi, in real life the scion of a wealthy Suzhou family and well-known local philanthropist who died of lung disease on the eve of the rebel occupation of Nanjing. Indeed, Pan died after sending a letter to Nanjing with detailed suggestions regarding the city's defenses, a deed that linked Pan imaginatively and emotively to the catastrophic events that subsequently engulfed the city.[77] In the precious volume, Mr. Pan has taken a new position after his own death as the keeper of the books for the underworld, responsible for the registers that record human destinies. New to the job, aware of the looming disaster, and relatively tenderhearted, Mr. Pan beseeches the ruler of the underworld for the favor of reducing the number doomed to die by one-third.[78] To that end, he engages the City Gods from all administrative units to compile lists of those who have sworn an oath to reform, and who are thus to be saved.

Yu Zhi attaches many of the attributes conventionally associated with Buddhist and Daoist deities to Pan Zengyi. In the precious volume, Mr. Pan resembles Lord Wenchang: a model of principled conduct for a troubled world, a cosmic bureaucrat who inhabits a sacred realm filled with ledger books used to make merit-based determinations of destiny, and a sympathetic deity who seeks to save humanity from the impending disaster of civil war.[79] Mr. Pan is not only transmogrified into an official in the divine bureaucracy, but he also takes on some of the attributes of Guanyin, the Buddhist figure of divine mercy, who rescues the drowning masses from the sea of disaster.[80] Indeed, the real Pan Zengyi was deeply committed to Buddhist beliefs and, on the basis of a dream-vision, considered himself to be the reincarnation of a famous monk. After leaving officialdom "in order to practice philanthropy in his hometown," he burned incense, observed vegetarian fasts, and founded an association to release living things.[81]

The composite image of Mr. Pan as embodying the virtues of the Three Teachings (Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism) in "Mr. Pan's Precious Volume" reflects the comfortable religious syncretism of moral exhortation

in the late Qing. All three religions coexist comfortably in the precious volume; Daoist underworld bureaucrats reward those who recite the name of Guanyin as well as those who treasure the written word. The book, moreover, was printed by a publishing concern housed in the Yuanmiao temple in Suzhou, nominally Daoist but host to deities from various religious traditions as well as bookshops and publishing houses, teashops, and restaurants. The temple also provided space for philanthropic activities, including free clinics, congee kitchens, and a spirit-writing platform through which the gods could compose morality books or heal the sick. It was a designated site for rent collection and a venue in which the Qing government posted announcements or had them publicly read.[82] Story performances and recitation of all manner of religious texts (including perhaps the "Precious Volume in which Mr. Pan [explains] How to Avoid Catastrophe") took place in and around this central place.

The precious volume is, as the author reminds readers in the opening pages, "the very best book to help avert calamity." Those who love philanthropy can print it and distribute it, thereby accumulating merit and avoiding disaster. Those without the means to print and distribute it can instead "devote themselves to oral recitations of the text before large crowds in order to disseminate it broadly," thereby achieving the same effect.[83] The book as artifact figures throughout the text. The underworld is inhabited by books—ledgers, pamphlets, and even Mr. Pan's precious volume itself. Piles of copies surround Mr. Pan at his every appearance, and the audience is enjoined, at multiple junctures, that not only is the pathway to salvation encoded within the tract's pages but the book as object has talismanic value.[84] References to oral transmission also figure at key transitions in the text: the audience is enjoined to "listen" to each of the chapters, and "those destined to listen to the text" are characterized as truly fortunate, for they will be able to transform themselves and be saved.[85] The speaking of "good words," or the delivery of "edifying sermons," generates merit, and it is, as Mr. Pan tells his relative, "more efficacious than the burning of incense."[86] Those who are able should donate money to reproduce the precious volume, and those who are not able should contribute [spoken] words.[87] Indeed, good words spoken and recited proliferate within the text and beyond: they appear in "life" as described in the text, and were to be amplified and multiplied through oral recitation of the religious tract itself.

Each of the three chapters of the precious volume demonstrates a dimension of the power of the spoken word. The first two imagine the trans-

mission of Mr. Pan's efficacious "good words" (hao hua) from beyond the grave. In these chapters, Mr. Pan and a virtuous primary-school teacher from within the doomed city of Nanjing are transformed into underworld bureaucrats determined to save those predestined to die in the conflagration. In the first chapter, the recently deceased Mr. Pan appears in a dream and instructs his relative to transmit his moral message in order to save as many people as possible from impending disaster. Through the medium of the spoken word, by swearing an oath aloud, individual listeners would be transformed and thereby saved. The second chapter depicts the experiences of a primary school teacher, surnamed Sun, who is chosen to serve as a temporary helper in an underworld bureaucracy overwhelmed by the extraordinary number of deaths to be processed as a result of the fall of the city of Nanjing. The third chapter depicts Mr. Pan as he ostensibly lived: lecturing to his tenants on moral transformation within the rent collection office of his charitable estate (shouzu zhuangfang). Here, speech transforms the audience of tenant farmers into loyal subjects, a relationship articulated through ritual, speech, and proper and timely payment of rents and taxes.

In the first chapter, Mr. Pan projects himself into his relative's dream and instructs him to help the populace hear his good words, change their ways, and avoid catastrophe. In the dream, Mr. Pan appears seated in an elevated temple, surrounded by mist, fog, and printed pamphlets, presumably copies of the eponymous precious volume, which, the text itself advises, should be further reproduced and distributed in order to spread the message of salvation.[88] Mr. Pan warns his relative that disaster, a terrible catastrophe (the fall of Nanjing and the Taiping war), is about to befall the world and that only those who have resolved to do good deeds will be saved. He advocates philanthropy as a strategy for self protection, noting that those who can contribute money should donate money, and those who have no money to contribute can donate words. By spreading good words, and by resolving to do good deeds, ill fortune can be transformed into good luck, and difficulties can be turned into good fortune.[89] He further distills his message into a series of "twelve good sayings."[90] The sayings encapsulate conventional values, with admonitions against family conflict, heterodoxy, wicked speech, cheating, profiteering, waste, infanticide, and the killing of living things. These twelve sayings were explicitly meant to be spoken: they formed the text of the oath that followers of Mr. Pan were to utter in order to save themselves.

In the final chapter, Pan Zengyi is shown as he ostensibly lived both before the war and before his death. Here we see him "performing" the ideal

community into existence, embodying values that were understood by Yu Zhi and many of his contemporaries as worthy of being requited with wealth, power, and position. That he is portrayed as a landlord and an agent of moral order against the backdrop of a rent collection office on the charitable estate that he famously established in order to underwrite his family's philanthropic projects seems especially suggestive. Through the figure of Pan Zengyi, Yu Zhi presents the exchange of rents, taxes, and philanthropy as reciprocal forms of social obligation instantiating the relationship between landlord and tenant on the one hand and the landlord and the dynasty on the other. Payment—and resistance—thus were imagined as the site at which hierarchical relationships were properly performed and requited, or negated. Landlords in the Wuxi-Suzhou area during the late Qing characteristically collected their rents through "landlord bursaries" (zuzhan), a form of institution operated by powerful landlords who collected rents on behalf of their peers, paid the taxes owed to the state, and remitted the remaining amount to the landowners, less their own commission.[91] In Yu Zhi's precious volume, the fiscal functions of the rent collection office also had an ideological or moral dimension, functioning as a venue for enactment of proper roles and relationships between landlord and tenant and, at least in the imagination of Yu Zhi, between the taxpaying imperial subject and the dynasty.

In this chapter, Yu Zhi narrates Mr. Pan's morally transformative acts, including charitable practices that reiterate Yu Zhi's own favored methods: raising funds, supporting poor women to prevent infanticide, establishing congee kitchens and charitable pharmacies, relieving famine, and underwriting public works.[92] Yu then places Mr. Pan inside the rent collection office of his family's charitable estate, just outside the Suzhou city wall, where the assembled tenants welcome him with incense and gratitude. Yu notes that by forgiving rents in honor of his parents' birthdays and by exhorting virtuous conduct and proper relationships, Mr. Pan has transformed all of the tenants on his family's lands into virtuous commoners.[93] Still, an old man among the tenants speaks out and observes that in spite of the previous instances of rent forgiveness, the tenants are still suffering from poverty and illness, and that they have no more grain left to pay their rent. The old man concludes by asking Mr. Pan to forgive all of their rent, instead of only part.[94] Mr. Pan laughs and says that prosperity and health are not fundamentally related to rent forgiveness but rather are an expression of reward and retribution. He then reminds his tenants to practice filial piety and express their inner good nature, and once they have embarked on the path of righteousness, he orga-

nizes them into a Treasuring Grain Buddhist Association, a type of voluntary society to prevent wasteful use of staple foods.[95] Subsequently, Mr. Pan sees a shining aura above the assembled crowd, and he realizes that his efforts have been effective: they have been moved to goodness, and the god of good fortune will protect them. Yu also notes that the idealized Mr. Pan implemented practices associated with cherishing grain within the rent collection office. He also encouraged cherishing of grain in his household and its kitchens. As a result, his family, servants, and tenants were all transformed, achieving material comfort, and later safety, as a reward for abstemiousness and virtue.

In this story, the rent collection office of the charitable estate serves as one of the key sites within which Mr. Pan's spoken exhortations transform his tenants and his family into loyal subjects. Yu Zhi uses the story, and the figure of Mr. Pan, to articulate his vision of political community through stylized dialogue. When Mr. Pan goes into the village to meet with his tenants, he learns that hundreds of people have joined the Treasuring Grain Buddhist Association. They demand that he lecture to them. He demurs, saying that he must first wash his hands, light incense, and pray to the imperial tablet and then to the Buddha. He asserts the primacy of respect for the emperor, arguing that imperial gifts must be requited first, since

> If it weren't for the emperor, the Buddha's hall would be hard to sustain. Our ancestors all relied on the emperor in order to survive. If there were no emperor to dispatch officials to govern us, then your hard work planting and harvesting would be unsustainable because of instability, and [your crops] would be pillaged by bad guys. So you see how important imperial benevolence is. Words cannot describe it completely. And so, the imperial tablet takes precedence over the Buddha.[96]

Another impertinent elder among the assembled tenants interjects: "We understand this principle, but we are insignificant, so how are we supposed to repay imperial benevolence?" To which Mr. Pan replies:

> The repayment of benevolence isn't a precise accounting. You should take what you owe the emperor in taxes and pay it as early as possible. You should make sure that you live peacefully and don't commit crimes against the King's Laws (wangfa). Then it can be counted as not turning your back on imperial benevolence. If you don't pay your taxes, even if you burn incense to the Buddha every day, you will not accumulate merit. If you plant rice, then you must pay your rents, your collected rents then become taxes, and then you can face the emperor.

The same elder argues with Mr. Pan, saying, "Today even the great households don't pay their taxes. We see the trend and behave accordingly!" Mr. Pan laughs and says "Other people don't pay their taxes—that means other people offend the emperor. Later it will come back and harm their descendants. Do your best to realize your innate goodness. I beg you not to cut this corner. This is a corner that should not be cut!"[97] After hearing Mr. Pan's exhortation, the assembled tenants are suddenly transfixed. They see a golden light leading to heaven, they smell a marvelous fragrance, and they hear beautiful music. Assured by these tangible manifestations of heavenly approval, they resolve to change their ways: they desist from taking life, cease eating meat, and practice the release of living things.

And strangely, the narrator reports, when autumn came, and every locale was afflicted by epidemics, only those who did not eat meat avoided disease. That year, there was a drought in autumn and all the sprouts dried up, and the people begged for rain but none came. But those tenants who were in the association sold grain that they had saved through the quotidian acts of frugality recommended by Mr. Pan and used the proceeds to buy candles and incense. They then took an oath and prayed for rain. As a result, a big rain came and all of their crops were saved, and moreover they enjoyed a great harvest. Everyone said it was because they listened to Master Pan's good words. And they thus avoided starvation and disease, and they felt gratitude beyond measure.[98] The words of Mr. Pan, uttered in the rent collection office of the charitable estate, had protected his community from hunger and disease in his lifetime. By extension, the words of the precious volume uttered by a reader acting as a proxy for Mr. Pan would protect individuals and communities in southeastern Jiangsu from the conflagration that had already engulfed the city of Nanjing.

Behind the rhetoric of moral community, however, relationships were unraveling in the face of stark inequities, corruption, and official incompetence. Rebellion, and the extended years of warfare it engendered, disrupted and denaturalized linkages that imaginatively bound the moral, social, political, and cultural order together, overturning the logic of earlier commitments and relationships, both personal and political. Insistent lectures on the Sacred Edict and religious sermons sought desperately to remind listeners (and speakers) of their moral obligation to both community and empire, even as the Taiping leadership dictated an alternative reality with its own religious and moral values into existence. During and after the war, Yu Zhi and others imagined the world restored through their rhetoric to what

it had never been. They articulated their values through moral parables. Nanjing burned because its inhabitants had displeased heaven with their transgressions. Other people, or other communities, could hope to avoid a similar fate only by quickly and diligently fulfilling their obligations to family, community, and state—by swearing an oath constituted by Mr. Pan's twelve good sayings.

Yu Zhi addresses themes of specifically urban iniquity in the second chapter of "Mr. Pan's Precious Volume," which narrates the temporary service of a middle-aged primary school teacher named Sun Yunji as a record keeper in the underworld. One evening at sundown early in 1853, Mr. Sun, a native of Nanjing city, walks past the City God temple. Suddenly he sees an old man wearing a gown made out of dark material. The old man looks at Mr. Sun and says, "It is good that you have come here, I was just about to go and invite you." He guides Mr. Sun into the gate and all the way into the great hall. He looks up and sees the seated image of the City God, and the old man kneels down. The City God stands up, greets Mr. Sun, and, noting his lifetime of moral rectitude, offers him a job keeping the ledgers of men's fates. Mr. Sun demurs; if he were to accept employment in the underworld, what would become of his elderly mother? Impressed with his filial devotion, but needing help processing the anticipated surge of paperwork associated with the impending war, the City God offers Mr. Sun a temporary position: he will fall into a coma, during which time he will serve as a recording clerk in the underworld bureaucracy. After seven days, he will be released from service, and he and his family will be escorted out of the doomed city to safety under divine protection.[99]

In the ledgers recording the fates assigned to city residents after its fall to the rebels, the primary school teacher observes a pattern grounded in the principles of reward and retribution. Those who united their minds and showed resolve were all protected by the gods and escaped death.[100] The narrator notes that the root of the grievous suffering lay in the fact that the people there had not heeded the words of Mr. Pan. They had committed wicked deeds, turned their backs on righteousness, and forgotten to requite the benevolence of the emperor. While they were, in some respects, just like the "ordinary people of Jiangnan," they were at the same time decadent, stubborn in their perversity, unfilial, disloyal, licentious, and rebellious. As the protagonist is told by the Nanjing City God, "the great disaster this time has nothing to do with misrule by the dynasty [the standard explanation of disasters]—but rather, this calamity is due to the fact that ordinary people have done too many bad things."[101]

In the course of his work, "checking the names and collating the ledger," Sun "confirm[s] the locations and names and checked the bad things they did against the disasters that they would encounter, and the year, month, day, and physical means of their demise."[102] He also learns who turned their hearts and changed their fates. The concerns of the underworld map neatly onto a familiar world of named people, places, and neighborhoods. For example, Mr. Sun learns of a man from the northern part of the city, who ran a tobacco shop and who had throughout his life failed to value grain and respect the written word. The tobacconist and his household were scheduled for violent death in the coming conflagration. Transformed by the sayings of Mr. Pan, he organized his fellow tobacconists to avoid printing the names of their shops in words on the papers they used to wrap small parcels, and they swear an oath to that effect in the Wenchang temple.[103] As a result of these good deeds, a deity escorted the tobacconist and his family out of the city on the eve of the rebel occupation. A primary school teacher surnamed Gao, who resided below Qingliang shan (a scenic area within the walled city), gathered a group of teachers in the Wenchang temple and exhorted them to make use of meritorious primers written by Yu Zhi, collecting donations to print thousands of copies of Yu Zhi's books. Naturally Mr. Gao and all of the primary school teachers he had influenced were among those who avoided disaster.[104]

Rural people seem to have fared better than urban. Entire villages believed Mr. Pan's words about avoiding disaster, and after the fall of the city, they took oaths and formed associations, taking to heart the injunction to treasure grain and do good deeds. They all "cleaned their privies, got rid of shoe pattern books that had words printed on them and replaced them with plain white ones. They refrained from eating meat . . . and strangely, even when every other community was pillaged and destroyed in fires set by the long-hairs, these communities were completely unharmed."[105]

Yu Zhi's vision of the war as a form of divine retribution visited upon other, wickeder places was, however, sustainable only from a distance. The fall of Jiangnan in 1860 commanded a new perspective on the Taiping regime, even as it occasioned physical dislocation and, in Yu Zhi's case, upward social mobility by way of Shanghai.

"I Too Was a Jiangnan Refugee"[106]

On May 30, 1860, Yu Zhi's home prefecture fell to the Taiping as the war that had been festering nearby for years burned through southeastern Jiangsu

and northern Zhejiang. Fighting continued in the countryside, with rebels and militias battling each other and plundering from the local populace. Countless civilians were killed or committed suicide. Many either joined or were pressed into rebel service. Homes and fields went up in flames and smoke, illuminating the nights and darkening the days. When the fighting came to his hometown, Yu Zhi fled with family members and spent the remaining years of the war traveling between Shanghai and various other communities north and south of the Yangzi River.

Profoundly affected by what he had seen, he stopped fulminating about urban excess and wrote instead of the good people who were being pressed into rebel service and the collective experience of suffering, whether among the refugees or those living under Taiping occupation. As he knew from personal experience, not only the wicked were dying. Still drawing upon the rhetoric of reward and retribution, he focused on the rewards that would accrue to those who contributed to the dynastic cause by raising money to support local militias, to provision the Qing troops, and to supply aid to his fellow refugees from occupied Jiangnan. He thus offered his fellow Jiangnan natives an alternative model of the loyal subject: moral obligation to the dynasty expressed through philanthropy and management of local affairs, instead of through violent death.

Yu Zhi spent his first several months as a refugee reading and reflecting painfully on recent events.[107] He intensified his involvement with local militias, encouraging wealthy households to contribute money even as he advocated against the killing of rebels. In an essay written in 1860, "On Scattering the Rebel Gang (Jiesan zeidang shuo)," which he distributed to all of the Qing military encampments in the region, he argued that overzealous militia braves were terrifying rebel captives and impeding the war effort, even as they targeted individuals whose speech marked them as strangers, and thus likely Southerners committed to the rebel cause.[108] Such uncompromising tactics undermined the Qing cause, as Yu Zhi noted:

> The intransigent rebels today are daily becoming more numerous. Although the militias, soldiers, and local braves have killed countless rebels, we still have not seen them decrease in numbers. Why is this? Because everywhere that the rebels go, they seize hundreds of people per day! The more you kill them, the worse it gets. The first impulse of these captives is to flee. However, the village braves are searching and investigating with excessive rigor everywhere. If someone's accent is even slightly different, the [braves] see him as a traitor. As a result, it has gotten to the point where [all of the

> captives are] afraid that they will be killed and they do not dare to run away [from the rebels]. And so, because of their concern for their own survival, they are used by the rebels. This is why the rebel gang is growing in numbers and strength. Since the uprising began in Guangxi, countless hundreds of thousands of good commoners who have fallen into rebel hands have been killed [for trying to escape or by militias after escaping]. Many more relatives, wives, and children having witnessed their deaths have weighed their options and chosen to join the rebels for self-preservation. . . . I have heard that among the rebels there are those followers who have been in the gang for many years and who have on many occasions wanted to return to their home villages but who suffered because there was no way to get out alive![109]

In place of the harsh interrogation and violence of the local militias, Yu Zhi recommends a gentry-managed bureau to provide further incentives for captives to surrender and return home. He cites the ancient model whereby the King of Chu was defeated when his men became homesick and fled, and he proposes that the Qing forces and local militias likewise ought to encourage captives to abscond by evoking thoughts of home. "Fighting like savages," "indiscriminate killing," and failing to "separate the jade from the rocks" would undermine the Qing cause. He notes that "if word gets out that those who have followed the rebels have no way out, they will be forced always to follow the rebels!"[110] The promise of a safe return to civilian life would inspire disaffection in the rebel ranks and would thus strengthen support for the dynasty.

The distinction between recalcitrant leaders and passive captives was typical of Qing discourse on managing rebellion. In suppressing a local uprising, officials inevitably explained how they had sought to divide the "real" rebel leaders from the good people they were dragging along. Yu Zhi put this conventional rhetoric into his own particular type of practice; he composed music and vernacular poetry to inspire homesickness and had them distributed behind rebel lines, a strategy that also suggests he had contacts there.[111] He foregrounds the methods through which Taiping followers might be reintegrated into the community of imperial subjects by appealing to their memory of home communities (expressed musically or in their local vernacular), by way of financial incentives, and through the emblematic act of re-marking the imperial subject's body through shaving the forehead. According to Yu Zhi's disciples, the provincial governor responded to Yu Zhi's recommendations by remarking that the philanthropist "had the heart of a Buddha and the bones of a knight errant"; the latter term was often used in the vernacular as a euphemism for brigand.[112]

In his efforts to manage the crisis in his home region, Yu Zhi expressed his identification with the refugees by proclaiming himself a refugee, by claiming refugees as relatives or landsmen, and by expressing gratitude to those who offered assistance to them. At first, he recalls the moment in 1860 when the rural areas of his home region were not yet completely overrun by the Taiping forces, and the number of refugees was not yet overwhelming. Soon after that, however,

> the refugees came in a continuous line. There were those who came with broken bodies and limbs, those who came who had been forced to serve the rebels and who had escaped, those young married women who came staggering and old crones who wobbled in; there were young children who having lost their parents came in wailing and crying. Those who arrived first had perhaps a bit of money left. Those who came later had only broken pots and wore rags and tatters. Naked bodies and bare feet, emaciated and thin, with only a gasp of breath left. And yet all of these were people of my county, closer, and they were people of my village, and closer still, they were the people of my own lineage.[113]

Witnessing the arrival of the refugees, in villages and market towns around the mouth of the Yangzi, Yu Zhi and his associates established bureaus to provide "rice gruel for the hungry, clothing for the cold, medicine for the ill, and coffins for the dead—and cash subsidies and gifts for those who had to travel far in search of their relatives and friends."[114] On behalf of the refugees, or perhaps as the linchpin connecting donors and recipients, Yu Zhi expresses gratitude, positing that through charity donors could establish affective or communal connections that mirror those of family, lineage, and village. He writes, repeating the same language for effect:

> Those they helped were from my home district, or closer, from my village, or even closer, members of my lineage. And so, right when a person faces mortal crisis and sees that there are those who are suffering and wandering and dying, if they are not his father or elder brother, then they are sons and younger brothers.[115]

Such philanthropic efforts had both pragmatic and religious dimensions; their proponents, including Yu Zhi, framed the current catastrophe in relation to cosmological processes and religious beliefs: human suffering could be explained and alleviated through the logic of reward and retribution.[116] And yet, unlike his earlier essays excoriating urban excess, which drew a clear line between the despicable residents of the fallen cities of Nanjing,

Yangzhou, and Zhenjiang and the good people of southeastern Jiangsu, Yu Zhi, writing after 1860, posits sympathetically that the people of Jiangnan (southern Jiangsu) are not in fact so very different from their counterparts in Jiangbai north of the river. He thus binds the two regions into a community undergirded by philanthropic transactions and shared participation in cycles of reward and retribution:

> The suffering of the Jiangnan refugees until now has been too hard to bear to discuss. Homes have been burned! Cultivated land is now laid waste! Human flesh is stewed and eaten! The starving fill the roads! Demons and monsters call out all around! Earth is grieving and heaven mourns. Gods are shocked and ghosts are crying! Beholding this, even a man of iron would shed tears! The suffering of Jiangnan refugees even now, how can we bear to speak of it? The suffering people of Jiangnan are still human. Their hearts and actions cannot be so different from those of Jiangbei people. Their organization of militia defenses was not necessarily inferior to those of Jiangbei people. And yet, Jiangnan suffered the fires of war in every village. In Jiangbei, by contrast, abundant seedlings fill the fields. In Jiangnan, households were scattered, whereas in Jiangbei, wives and children are happy together. In Jiangnan, the tree bark and roots were stripped and peeled until none remained. In Jiangbei, people had warm clothes and full stomachs and were contented as in normal times. Both are human! How can some be so unlucky as to live in Jiangnan while others are so fortunate as to live in Jiangbei? What terrible crime did they commit that they are abandoned by heaven? And what can be done to restore them to heaven's care?[117]

Here, Yu speaks of what he has elsewhere termed unspeakable through a series of pointed contrasts lodged in an apparent accident of geography. He then argues that the refugee crisis affords those who have been spared an unprecedented, even wonderful, opportunity to accumulate merit. Indeed, he avers, potential donors should not "enter this treasure mountain and depart empty handed," and instead ought to give generously in order to ensure that they and their descendants will avoid future catastrophe, of whatever sort:

> The coming of catastrophe cannot be anticipated. Whether it arrives sooner or later has not yet been decided. Moreover, the next catastrophe will not necessarily be soldiers and swords. Flood, fire, rebels, bandits, plague, disease, famine, starvation—which of these is not a catastrophe! In a split second, locusts can arrive rendering fame and profit into nothingness. Of the millions of a family fortune, a single coin may not survive. The swords and soldiers may not come but heaven-sent disaster will surely come someday. In order to flee this disaster, where can you go? To avoid this catastrophe, what skill can you employ?[118]

He reminds his reader that the Yangzi River does not constitute an impermeable barrier. Any boat can cross—and disaster could not in any case be prevented even by a "Great Wall." The only way to diminish the bad fortune facing Jiangbei people, he argues, is for them to donate generously to help their compatriots from the south of the river.[119] He here offers the possibility of renewed connection, articulated through his own status as a Jiangnan refugee, and thus as an eyewitness to the unbearable and speaker of the unspeakable. These connections were to be expressed through participation in philanthropic transactions, here reimagined as collective and implicitly hierarchical, as well as geographically defined.

Picturing the Unbearable

As part of his response to the ideological and material crisis provoked by war and occupation, Yu Zhi produced *A Man of Iron's Tears for Jiangnan* (Jiangnan tielei tu, hereafter *Tears for Jiangnan*), an illustrated pamphlet published at Yuanmiao Daoist Temple in Suzhou around the time that the war ended in 1864. In a series of forty-two illustrations, each accompanied by lyric and prose text, *Tears for Jiangnan* graphically illustrates the history of the occupation of Jiangnan by the Taiping and narrates, in stylized form, the impact of war on the lives of residents of southern Jiangsu province during the period from 1860 to 1864. According to the preface, the book contains "All of those matters that one cannot bear to see or bear to hear about, things that distress the heart and torment the eyes and that are difficult to write about, what is described as something that would make even a man of iron cry if he were to see it."[120] *Tears for Jiangnan* was meant to inspire donations from the philanthropically inclined to help raise money for Jiangnan people dislocated by war and occupation. Combining images with poetry and prose text, *Tears for Jiangnan* shows structural affinities with religious texts (*baojuan*), meritorious books (*shanshu*), the pictorial primers that Yu Zhi advocated for young children in his former life as a primary school teacher, and illustrated explanations of the Sacred Edict.[121] All of these genres are pedagogical, morally exhortative, and charismatic; they reproduce conventions associated with the spoken word, further embellished by illustration, rhymes, and songs. The rhetoric in the pamphlet is direct and vernacular, conveying the religious conventions of reward and retribution.

The book itself, cheaply produced on poor-quality paper, presents provocative images of a Taiping-inflicted dystopia of violence and displace-

ment—followed by Qing utopia miraculously restored—and thus, a moral universe disrupted and revitalized. The pictures, stunningly dynamic in their staging of violence, are reminiscent of Buddhist representations of hell, Confucian morality texts, and illustrated accounts of natural disasters, like *The Album of the Famished* (Jimin tushuo), a report, with fourteen pictures, showing a famine in Henan that was submitted with a memorial in 1594 and that, Timothy Brook argues, was intended to inspire the Wanli emperor to bestow aid and relieve the suffering of his people.[122] Both works depict a society in which displacement of population, sale or abandonment of family members, eating of things not ordinarily consumed (including human flesh), and corpses defiled by animals have become commonplace. Such images of suffering were produced to instruct, admonish, and inspire a sympathetic and generous response, whether from an emperor, as in the *Album of the Famished*, or a community, as in *Tears for Jiangnan*. Such books were not realistic representations of events, although they might capture the emotional and moral resonances of disaster. At the same time, to say that starvation, infanticide, and cannibalism were tropes, a form of shorthand for communal disaster, did not mean that people did not starve or drown their babies and were not in extremity eaten by their neighbors and kin.[123] They did, and they were, but the primary purpose of the images of not eating, being eaten, or drowning baby girls printed in books like *Tears for Jiangnan* was as universally recognized barometers of suffering, to be understood as both plausibly literal and inevitably figurative.

The iconography in *Tears for Jiangnan* is both particular and generic; it features elements recognizably associated with the Taiping war, even as it reproduces a litany of possible consequences common to pictures of natural and human catastrophe in late imperial China.[124] That fundraising texts included visual representations of human suffering should not be surprising. Images are used to elicit sympathy and generosity even in our own time and place; we need only think of the pictures of hungry children in magazine and television advertisements for global charities. But in the particular context of nineteenth-century China, pictures portraying disaster victims suggested the moral, pedagogical, and religious dimensions of organized philanthropy, and the close relationship between fundraising and notions of reward and retribution, which were in turn linked both to moral orthodoxy and popular religion. In the pamphlet's brief preface, Yu Zhi observes that "it is difficult to persuade people to donate, how much more difficult if they have not witnessed or heard the suffering in person."[125] By depicting visually what people

cannot bear to see—in effect, by forcing them to witness vicariously—the book is meant to move people to moral or philanthropic action. This representation is made necessary by its function: to raise money to assist refugees, to reveal the causes of the recent disaster, and to foreshadow a happy ending of restored dynastic order. With *Tears for Jiangnan*, Yu Zhi professes to recreate his own experience of eyewitnessing in order to help repair the world and transform the moral order through ethical practice.

The forty-two images can be divided roughly into a three-part time line—a road map from violent past to utopian future. The first six images deal explicitly with active warfare, depicting conditions at the time of the Taiping assault on Jiangnan in 1860. These pictures show the Taiping (long-haired and toothy types) inflicting violence upon the populace. Images 7–32 show life in occupied Jiangnan, and perhaps we can think of this as the encapsulation of an extended (three-year) experience, rather than a single event or moment. Here the book portrays suffering refugees, ruined property, wrecked temples (and aggrieved deities), failed livelihoods, a pitched battle between Taiping and a local militia (doughty Suzhou and Changzhou men who are supposed to be more valiant than the scattered Qing regulars), those same local militias persecuting former captives (and thus revealing that they are neither valiant nor compassionate), infanticide, cannibalism, and ghosts. Here Yu Zhi depicts war as chronic illness—the ongoing grind of suffering and oppression. More importantly, these images portray war as moral affliction, a world in which relationships and standards for human behavior have been turned upside down, the inverse or antithesis of the world-as-it-should-be. In this sequence, the long-haired men recede into the background. The agents of suffering and destruction are more diffuse and abstracted, taking the form of hunger, disease, cold, and loss of home and family. Finally, images 33–42 show dynastic and moral order restored, the world recreated according to Yu Zhi's ideal vision, through the timely intervention of powerful provincial officials. The book as a whole, then, gives us a narrative trajectory, from active to chronic warfare, and then (imagined) restoration of a perfected cosmic and moral order.

Figure 2.2, for example, shows the first text-image pair. This picture shows a scene of utter devastation: long-haired men torch the roof of a house and lurk ominously under a banner in the upper right corner. Bleeding corpses litter a parched and cracked landscape. A small group of refugees tearfully flees, walking, crawling, and carrying relatives and possessions toward the lower left corner of the page. The accompanying text establishes a particular moment in time: 1860, the collapse of Qing forces, the death in battle of a



Figure 2.2. Rebel Flames Bring Violence and Oppression, the People Suffer Living Hell.

Lyric: "How hateful! Those clowns made trouble in Jiangnan for several years in succession. Living beings suffered bitter and heartbreaking calamity. More than half of the people died. Everywhere events were cruel! The images are hard to sketch and transmit! Even if one's heart and liver are made of stone and iron, the tune is so tragic it tears the guts!"

Text: "The Southern Rebels occupied Nanjing beginning in 1853, plundering, looting, and burning. Fortunately General Xiang Rong and Commander Zhang Guoliang fought successively against them. They struggled to stop the cruel swords and protected Jiangnan for several years. In spring of 1860, Zhang was martyred. Suzhou and Changzhou fell one after the other and all hte cities and villages under them came to harm and were cruelly massacred. The horrors are too horrible and numerous to record. The circumstances that were witnessed! How can one stop the suffering and pain?"

SOURCE: Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 1b–2a.

key general, and the Taiping occupation of Suzhou and Changzhou. The picture establishes a mood, or an image, of what destruction in Jiangnan looked like: domestic life violently turned inside out. Men and women killed and fleeing, faced with the monstrous, physically marked (long-haired) figures. Yu Zhi focuses on atrocities perpetrated by the Taiping, whom he portrays as murderous savages, insatiable plunderers and rapists, violators of domestic space, and levelers of the properly hierarchical social order. This element is magnified in Figure 2.3.



Figure 2.3. Murderous Savages Immorally Plunder, Jade and Stone Burn Together.

Lyric: "Suddenly awake, the heavens and earth darken. Shocked to see the pigs flee and the wolves roam. A violent fire burst out in Kungang [Suzhou]. I want to talk about these events, but cannot bear to speak. The rich and poor together, men and women, old and young alike, all face the same end. The brutal rebels lack feeling. People are too afraid to follow proper burial rituals, and dare not call back the departed souls."

Text: "Wherever the rebels went, they cruelly and mercilessly plundered and pillaged. Their behavior was like that of wild dogs. They did not distinguish between famous households, old lineages, and the rest. Wherever they went, they dealt harshly. People died or were captured. These are all unspeakable things. A family fortune of 10,000 strings of cash suddenly turned to nothing. A beauty so lovely that she could cause city walls to tumble is herself half ruined. Scratch your head and ask heaven! So strange that it seems halfway between belief and doubt! The only explanation can be reward and retribution!"

SOURCE: Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 2b–3a.

In this image, long-haired men attack a household. Headless corpses bleed on the threshold. A man with a pike decapitates a servant. Another servant hides in the grass as a long-haired man grabs a woman's breast at sword point nearby. At center, a Taiping drags a weeping woman into a bedroom as two others, swords drawn, demand food from an older man. The scene is terrifying and close, terrifying partly for its violation of domestic space, not normally thrown open to spectators' eyes, transformed into a tumult of unspeakable, and unspeakably visible, action. The picture again underscores the southern Jiangsu location through visual signifiers such as landscape elements and architecture, and the lyrical invocation highlights the "Kungang" or Suzhou prefecture setting. We are reminded of the fundamentally hierarchical nature of Yu Zhi's social vision, signaled in socially specific clothing (servants and masters) and in his manifestly evident horror at the rebels' insensitivity to distinctions between "ancient lineages, famous households, and the rest."

Throughout this section: acts of violence, atrocities, meted out against individuals and communities clearly located in time and space. This is, Yu Zhi reminds his readers repeatedly, Jiangnan, during the worst days of 1860, when unbearable, unspeakable suffering afflicted people without regard for status or wealth. Suffering came as divine retribution for moral failings, both individual and collective. Yu Zhi presents the war not as a military issue or as a historical event but rather as moral instrument leveled at (individual) people who deserved to be punished for their transgressions. Here, and in the other segments that make up this section of the pamphlet, Yu argues by repeated example that the rebels are merely instruments through which heaven expressed its wrath at human failings. Repentance, self-reflection, and moral education are the only ways to avoid further suffering.

In the second section, which portrays Taiping-occupied Jiangnan, we find the most varied imagery of human suffering. The images show a moral dystopia, a world fallen off of its ethical moorings, one in which the malaise is systemic, rather than personalized. There are eruptions of violence, to be sure, as in the scene "Martyred Women Perfect Their Chastity and Willingly Have Their Heads Shattered" (Figure 2.4). In this case, violence seems to provide an opportunity for heroism, an occasion for moral action. But the perpetrators are varied, and the heroics are unpredictable. One image from this section shows local militias carrying out revenge killings against former captives. The text suggests that this was an issue particularly troubling to Yu Zhi—the ostensible allies of the dynasty abusing their status as



Figure 2.4. Martyred Women Perfect Their Chastity, Willing to Have Their Heads Shattered.

SOURCE: Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 12b–13a.

"loyal" defenders to carry out vendettas against their neighbors—who were also his neighbors.[126]

By contrast with these occasional images of violence, much of what is depicted in this section consists of scenes of starvation, material deprivation, and collective misery. There is a moral dimension here as well, signaled by frequent reference to disruptions in proper human relationships (the foundation of the Confucian moral order) triggered by the Taiping presence. Phrases such as "in normal times, people do not . . . but now . . . ," or "wherever the

rebels passed . . . something [morally problematic] transpires . . . ," or "in recent times [some problem has been exacerbated]." This rhetoric highlights the contrast between an earlier, idealized, morally ordered past and the crisis caused by war and occupation. Thus we see the spread of infanticide, the selling of children, starvation, lack of livelihood, and even cannibalism figured as symptoms of a larger moral affliction. In many cases, Yu Zhi offers concrete solutions or "moral cures," outlining for example his recommended approach to ending infanticide, a social problem not confined to the period of Taiping occupation. Past misbehavior has resulted in catastrophe, in which context the Taiping are the instrument of heavenly retribution, the negative expression of a functioning moral order. At the same time, their presence has occasioned further degeneration of communal morals. Unless steps are taken to cure society's moral ills, further retribution might follow. The Taiping occupation thus afforded an opportunity to reflect upon and improve customary practices, accumulate merit, and thus produce a more perfect moral order.

Yu Zhi reminds his readers repeatedly that assistance to the refugees constitutes an opportunity for protection against future catastrophe—a chance for donors to generate religious merit. The rebels recede to the margins as the refugee experience moves front and center. If the rebels were portrayed as the agents of retribution for past misdeeds in the opening sequences, the refugees subsequently figure as an opportunity for future reward and protection. This is a moral universe governed by a calculus of reward and retribution, action and consequences: greed is repaid with loss, selfishness with suffering. The pictures and text suggest that the moral order, with its political and familial manifestations, is under siege, because of a failure of filial piety and improper conduct. Temples and divine images have been destroyed by iconoclasts who "spread their heterodox teachings everywhere and foment misfortune" in the name of an alien religion. Widows and orphans wander through the bleak landscape seeking aid; the pathos of their gestures seems to command the viewer into a position as their benefactor.

The images on the one hand show the inverse of Yu Zhi's ideal moral order. On the other, they also suggest his broader interest in moral transformation, and the role he imagined for philanthropic activists such as himself in spreading their message through charitable associations, speeches, lectures, and performances. The specific, named and pictured, context of occupied Jiangnan and its constituent communities becomes a stage for moral action and the accumulation of merit—and thus, a way out of suffering.

Both text and image collaborate to model moral action, as in Figure 2.5, "High Winds and Heavy Rain, Soaked in Mud and Water." The text reads (in part):

> The refugees are soaked by rain, bareheaded and barefooted they come and go, begging for food. Their clothes are completely soaked and they have nothing to change into. The wind is cold and penetrates their bones. This causes them to succumb to illness. Would that a caring person would see from their perspective and come up with a way for them to live comfortably so they do not have to die in the wet! It would have the merit of boundless virtue!



Figure 2.5. High Winds and Heavy Rain, Soaked in Mud and Water.
SOURCE: Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 26b–27a.

The picture, crossed diagonally by linear raindrops that seem to emanate from a floating cloud, shows two refugees approaching the door of a fine house, where the master extends a hand in assistance. On the road, a woman helps a child as another child clings to her torn clothing. A man with a basket watches and a corpse has fallen into a ditch. A divine being, complete with a halo—and wings—looks down approvingly from the cloud. The iconography underscores the religious dimension of Yu Zhi's political vision by showing divine approval for the generous deeds of the well-dressed donor in the picture.

This section ends with a bleak image of three ghosts, one carrying its own head, wandering through a landscape of overgrown grasses and dark clouds. According to the accompanying text, the wind carries sounds of despair; the author proclaims himself unable to bear to hear it. The ghosts seem to be testifying to their suffering, he notes; they seek revenge through their surviving wives, children, and friends. The dead are present. The community remains troubled. Just when this pain and suffering seems overwhelming, the scene changes; on the very next page, the world is rectified. A new moral order emerges, and memory of the crisis is transformed into a touchstone for self-reflection. With Figure 2.6, "A Flurry of Imperial Statements, Myriad People Moved to Tears," the narrative moves into a new time frame: the future is beginning.

Yu Zhi writes:

> Recently, repeated imperial injunctions have deeply moved the ordinary people who had sunk into bitter iniquity. They look to these texts for guidance and peace, and they who briefly followed the rebels knew only dissatisfaction. When permitted to return home to lenient treatment and without fear of militias killing them indiscriminately, the nets that bound them were opened on three sides, and they looked to the emperor gratefully for his forbearance, generosity, and grace. As the documents were read, everyone shed tears.[127]

The illustration reiterates the text. On the cracked wall of a building, we see a framed edict surrounded by a cluster of men. Some wear the jackets, robes, and caps of the educated elite, while others wear the pants and belted tops that mark them as working men or farmers. All attention is on the text, as the figures gesture, point, or move in ways that call the viewer inward toward the central image of imperial words, here represented by wavy vertical lines framed with numinous clouds and waves. The cracks in the building contrast with the perfection of the text—and at the same time, they frame



Figure 2.6. A Flurry of Imperial Statements, Myriad People Moved to Tears.

it. The text, plastered onto the cracked wall, seems to overwrite the damage. A child leads a man with a cane to join the crowd of readers and listeners. He seems to gesture: come along, the tidings are good. The emperor is present, again, in our community. A woman and child stand in the doorway under a damaged roof, listening to the good news. The people have returned to their proper places. The captives have returned; the women and children are back in their assigned domestic space.

The remaining images in the book aver that order has been restored; they celebrate the completion of a process that in reality had barely begun at the time of publication. The images and text foreground the imperatives

of reintegration, reconstruction, and restoration, creating a happy ending in text, even as continuing disorder and devastation on the ground rendered such optimism premature. The author celebrates the achievements of the provincial leadership; they have restored communities through benevolence and compassion and guided local elites to build bureaus and exercise their influence. This praise-song for the provincial government emphasizes the role to be played by activist elites such as Yu Zhi himself in the reconstruction, even as it seeks to inspire donations to underwrite recovery in a time of severely constrained government funds. As a result of this official-local collaboration presided over by a benevolent symbolic center, "all of the people live together; they work to form a peaceful collective that embodies imperial kindness." The emperor appears here as a beneficent symbol of virtue, a value to be embodied by the populace, and an entity in whose name activist elites could govern according to their own interests.

The war against the Taiping forces was, from Yu Zhi's perspective, a culture war, a religious war, and an ideological war. Victory could not, for him, be framed in military terms, and in any event, from any perspective, the imperial win on the battlefield was hardly heroic. After a decade of grinding civil war, with perhaps tens of millions dead, and a humanitarian crisis of epic proportions, Yu Zhi celebrated the dynasty's moral victory, framed in relation to his lifelong project of promoting divinely sanctioned moral transformation induced, interpreted, and policed by men like himself. In the two last scenes, he returns to his favorite themes: the Sacred Edict as touchstone for moral transformation and the rectification of dramas. The text accompanying the final image asserts that the poison of lascivious theatricals caused the crisis of immediate and terrible experience; by contrast, the image shows a dignified and rectified drama on an orderly stage. Truly, he exhorted his listeners and readers, the word, spoken and written, had the power to change the course of human events: a social order shattered by divine retribution for the pollution of the word could be reborn through its rectification.

Restoring the World

Yu Zhi's writings describe the Taiping conflict as a sign of the turning of the *kalpa* or as the result of heavenly retribution for human transgression. By using these terms (which were typical in writings of his time), he intensifies the rebellion's cosmic significance, while rendering it radically equivalent to

other disasters that mark the end of an age. Was this a strategically staged religiosity designed precisely to combat the religious heterodoxy voiced by the Taiping cause? Or was it a mark of the intense religiosity of the age—an indication that creative orthodoxy and heterodoxy in fact were not as different as we might imagine? Was Taiping ideology a variant of a larger religious movement that responded to a broader religious, political, moral, and economic crisis? Is it merely a coincidence that both Yu Zhi and Hong Xiuquan emerged out of the vast and troubled stratum of failed examination candidates?

Yu Zhi's vision is one of destruction, reinvigoration, and transformation grounded in what would on the surface appear to be a fairly conventional reenactment of orthodox morality or what one scholar has termed "Chinese Conservatism."[128] And yet, his emphasis on vernacular media seems to suggest an infusion of new elements, not so subtly influenced by the iconoclastic challenge of the Taiping. In ideological combat, the ideas of the enemy, no matter how demonized, can potentially, or even inevitably, infiltrate. An appeal to the past does not necessarily advocate a return to the way things really were. There is something new (and newly evangelical and puritanical) about Yu Zhi's conservatism, and it responded, or corresponded, to the conditions of war, and the Taiping ideological challenge. His ideas and practice also anticipate the resurgent religious activity of the late nineteenth century, a "religious revival" that such scholars as Rebecca Nedostup, Holmes Welch, Philip Clart, and Vincent Goossaert locate in the 1870s and identify with the emergence of new religious organizations including lay groups and redemptive societies.[129]

As a result of the war, perhaps ironically, both the messenger and his message reached audiences and achieved levels of influence that would have been unattainable in the absence of crisis. Tellingly, his charitable and religious practice continued even after his death in 1874. Yu Zhi, apotheosized, continued to direct the Renji Benevolence Hall in Shanghai by way of a spirit-writing platform.[130]

CHAPTER THREE

Marked Bodies

Although Yu Zhi saw moral clarity in the turmoil of his times, many of his contemporaries struggled to make sense of a world in which seemingly fixed habits and bodily markers were subject to transgression and manipulation. In the context of civil war, countless people took to the roads and waterways of Jiangnan; the scale of mobility and migration matched or exceeded that of death and destruction. At a time when bandits joined militias, when surrendered soldiers switched allegiances (or defected) with seemingly promiscuous abandon, when members of the same family supported opposing causes, when refugees left home and could not return, and when captives were inducted into military operations on all sides, people looked for markers that revealed identities, hoping for certainty even as it dissolved.[1] And they adjusted and readjusted their own appearance and behavior, sometimes recording their discomfort in doing so, in order to conform to prevailing norms in contested territory. Things and people were not always what they seemed. How did people recognize friend and enemy when the normal marks of commitment and loyalty were unstable or deliberately abandoned? Even in ordinary times, visual and aural clues about a stranger's identity were worthy of observation and comment. In the context of war, an out-

of-place accent, unusual attire, facial tattooing, stubble on the forehead (or the gleaming white of too recent a shave), travel documents, door plaques, all could and did announce or betray claims of affiliation and thus took on outsized significance.

The stakes could be (and often were) high. Crossing between worlds could cost one's life or lead to permanent disfigurement, as many who sought to escape captivity learned to their misfortune. And yet, one's livelihood or survival might depend upon crossing, and thus necessarily on passing. Merchants had to get goods to market, even though the Yangzi delta region was, for years, divided between rebel and imperial control. Garrison forces routinely arrested salt merchants if they suspected them of traveling with Taiping documents and passes, or if they saw that they had adopted the Taiping hairstyle and failed to shave their foreheads in the style dictated by the dynasty. And yet, such documents and modifications were essential if the salt merchants were to traverse Taiping territory.[2]

Refugees from the cities sought safety in the countryside, even as rural people moved to places that seemed, from a distance, to be more secure. Farmers paid tribute, or taxes, to whoever held power in order to purchase thereby the safety of their families.[3] Hunger, loss, and destruction unmoored people, propelling them outward from familiar communities. Various powers issued travel papers and other documents in order to maintain control over local populations, and people changed paperwork as they moved through a war-torn landscape. Armies raised flags bearing their insignia in order to demarcate their authority. Captives in many cases were made to bear, bodily, the mortification of their captivity. Marked bodies had to be unmarked or disguised in order for individuals to go about the business of everyday life if that business took them across the shifting boundaries between Taiping and Qing territory. A captive's anxiety about his own hair, appearance, and accent signaled discomfort about passing, allegiance, and identity. And concern with the hair, appearance, and accent of others reflected widespread fear of infiltration and betrayal and the possibility that people in transit were not what or who they appeared to be. In theory (or with hindsight), identities and values were absolute and clearly legible. In practice, they were often disturbingly contingent.

Contemporaries writing about the war, either at the time or in proximate retrospect and whether Chinese or foreign, paid close attention to particulars of hair, clothing, tattoos, and accent even though such matters were seldom, if ever, the authors' principal concern. What were people

wearing? What dialect did they speak, or with which accent? How did the men dress their hair? Why were boy soldiers so alarmingly prevalent among the rebels?[4] The sharing of these details, whether in memoirs, diaries, diplomatic reports, or depositions, signaled the authenticity of an author's experience through the repetition of apparent insider information and conformity to readers' expectations. Moreover, such seeming minutiae catalogued distinction and demarcated boundaries, as they had done even long prior to the war.

The Chinese classics refer to clothing as an important sign of difference between male and female, civilized and barbarian.[5] A woman's age, ethnicity, marital status, and social position were encoded in her hairstyle. The presence (or absence) of hair on a man's forehead signaled absolutely whether he was with the dynasty or against it—and it had done so since shortly after the Manchu conquest in 1644.[6] Regional languages and accents had long provided a litmus test of identity in a polyglot empire. The markers were not new, but attention to them seems to have been intensified by a pressing need to find signs of order amidst the chaos, and to fix identities challenged by the exigencies of conflict. Strangers, always potentially destabilizing, terrified especially when encountered in large numbers. And any contextualizing marker would have offered cold comfort when neighbors and strangers looted, raped, captured, and pillaged.

In addition to signals encoded in clothing, hair, and accent, warring parties used talismans, rituals, and gestures to physically demarcate affiliations. The Righteous Army of Dong'an, a local militia in Shaoxing, Zhejiang, at least nominally in service to the Qing, expressed their affinities in a religious register with Buddhist and Daoist mantras and talismans.[7] The warring parties also commanded their affiliates and other authorized persons to carry travel documents and identity papers to facilitate recognition of self and other and to authorize movement within a tense war zone. For example, many Taiping soldiers wore patches of cloth bearing the words "Taiping," their military unit, and "holy soldier" stitched onto their clothing in order to transform simple clothes into a uniform.[8] Observers noted other identifying markers as well. Taiping soldiers had the number of their regiment stamped either on their coat or on a piece of wood that hung from their belts. On these were written the bearer's name, rank, and native place.[9] Such wooden plaques also bore the seal of the regiment's commanding officer. At Suzhou, for example, all of the soldiers were given small belt tags marked with the seal of the Loyal King as identification.[10]

Soldiers were not the only ones so marked. Travelers, including foreigners, in Taiping territory were required to have wooden tags tied to their belts bearing a Taiping seal; one British traveler grimly wrote that "without this badge, life is forfeit."[11] Such documents could be faked, providing "proof" of an assumed identity or legitimate cover for illegitimate actions. For example, one man who served as a secretary under the rebels at Suzhou stole a seal and forged himself a passport and other documents before absconding with several other captives. He recalled later how he and his fellow travelers also donned wooden belt plaques testifying to their allegiance to the Taiping cause. Everyone could see immediately that these marks of identity were "real and beyond suspicion," even though they were in fact being used to provide cover as the men prepared to flee back to Qing territory.[12] Similarly, the author of a richly descriptive memoir remembered how he attempted escape by filling out travel papers with Taiping seals stating that he and his companions were en route to Zhenjiang to purchase food. Without proper paperwork, he was sure that he would be detained, and even with appropriate seals he was able to move only from one rebel establishment to another and not able to make good his escape.[13]

As the war dragged on, all sides became locked in pursuit of absolute victory. Conditions of insurgency and counterinsurgency inspired atrocities, which were meted out on civilian populations and surrendered enemies whose appearance or accent seemed somehow problematic to those at least temporarily in control. The Qing and their allies could be especially vicious in this regard, although the Taiping also were notorious for corporal punishments that involved marking or disfigurement. Contemporary critics, including philanthropist Yu Zhi, argued (to little avail) that the Qing and its allies should practice tolerance in order to hasten victory. Benevolent treatment, they suggested, would inspire rapid surrender. By this logic, prevalent in the Qing period, the people were naturally loyal to the dynasty and inclined to stay in their native place. Only the most intransigent rebel leaders would resist absolutely.[14] The enemy would fall away, presumably shaving their heads and returning to ordinary clothing, if they knew that they could blend back into the civilian population without fear of reprisals. And yet, there were reprisals, inflicted on those who bore the markers of improper allegiance as understood at that time. Those markers were predictably embodied, in a world where, even in normal times, regional, gender, age, and status differences inevitably were expressed in hair, accent, and clothing.

Disguise and Betrayal

The Taiping War engendered a great deal of anxiety about disguise and betrayal. Fear of spies and infiltrators flourished in an atmosphere rife with rumored and real duplicity.[15] Officials, officers, and battalions could and did surrender to the other side. Some who turned coat did so repeatedly; the risk of a second betrayal was offset by the urgent need for more troops in a particular location.[16] Still, recent converts to a particular cause caused substantial concern; it remained to be seen whether a change in hairstyle or clothing reflected a genuine transfer of loyalties. Compounding the atmosphere of distrust and anxiety, both sides adopted strategies that involved people pretending to be what they were not. Marks of allegiance encoded through clothing, hair, and writing could be deliberately manipulated, so commanders sought to minimize the opportunity for infiltration and betrayal by enemies by way of surveillance or scorched earth.

Anxiety over disguise and betrayal could and often did lead to extreme decisions, particularly (but not only) after 1860 as war shaded into counterinsurgency. Increasingly, all sides turned to techniques including destruction of surrounding suburbs, banning of trade, execution of captives, and massacre of civilians. Were groups of apparent refugees truly fleeing hardship? Or might they be rebels in disguise, traveling by boat with women and children in order to infiltrate Qing-held territory? How was one to distinguish disbanded soldiers from Taiping spies?[17] And could an itinerant fortune-teller be a secret agent?[18] That such things had been known to occur meant that militias tortured and interrogated—or massacred—boatloads of refugees they encountered out of fear that they might not be who and what they seemed.[19] One writer described "rebels" who disguised themselves as ordinary people bringing soy sauce and other provisions to the imperial forces. Upon approach, they tossed explosives and incendiaries at the sails of official cannon-boats, causing them to go up in flames.[20] In 1860, at Hangzhou, Taiping forces blended in with refugees and pilgrims in order to approach the city. On another occasion, they took wooden statues from temples, dressed them in Taiping uniforms, and placed them in stockades around the city to create the illusion of enhanced numbers.[21] Such actions doubtless fueled violence perpetrated by imperial forces and their militia allies against civilian populations. And not only rebels disguised their identities. Bandits inspired fear by impersonating rebels, militias, and Qing soldiers and, thus disguised, stole boats and robbed pawnshops.[22] Refugees

impersonated beggars in hopes that they might be allowed to pass from danger to safety unmolested.[23] Qing sympathizers disguised themselves as Taiping in order to infiltrate occupied cities.

Mobile populations were the object of everyone's suspicion.[24] Officers on both sides worried that merchants and traveling laborers might be enemy soldiers in disguise, and in some instances they tried to limit the mobility of these distrusted types. Observers, including foreign travelers, noted that cities occupied by the Taiping resembled military installations; in some places urban populations seem to have been deliberately displaced, leaving the walled cities to house only Taiping soldiers and those needed to sustain them.[25] The Taiping banned trade at Wuhu in 1858 and ejected all of that Yangzi port town's inhabitants other than those who could be pressed into service. In the likely event of a prolonged siege, it was thought, there would be fewer mouths to feed; moreover, this policy was thought to reduce the chances of treachery and infiltration.[26] Two years later, a foreign visitor observed that a similar policy was enacted at Suzhou. Only pharmacies were permitted to engage in commerce. No local people were permitted within the walled city other than gate keepers and medicine dealers; all others were expelled.[27] Most of the occupying forces came from elsewhere, especially the central Yangzi provinces of Hunan, Hubei, and Anhui, as well as Guangxi and Guangdong in the far south, where the Taiping movement had originated. At Nanjing, too, trade was eventually banned in order to prevent Qing sympathizers from entering the city disguised as "traders and coolies."[28]

The boundaries among rebel, militia, bandit, and soldier were permeable. Despite the rhetorical insistence on loyalty on the Qing side and ideological conformity among the Taiping, and in spite of the bodily markers that physically expressed these distinctions, men changed allegiances with surprising impunity and in spite of efforts to prevent them from doing so. Indeed, bodily markers might provide cover for spies and turncoats: a man with a shaved head would be assumed to be a Qing sympathizer, and one with a hairy forehead appeared to be Taiping. To infiltrate Qing territory as spies, "old rebels" shaved their foreheads even as new captives were forced to begin growing their hair. One man, living as a captive among the Taiping, complained that this deliberate manipulation of appearance made it hard for him to know who was what, although presumably accent and clothing would have provided additional clues.[29] Such marks were not always made directly on the body. Allegiances were sometimes flagged in writing, tied onto the head, or stitched into clothing. When the Taiping forces entered Hangzhou in 1860,

a number of militia braves switched sides. They revealed their new identities by binding red cloths, previously hidden inside their clothing, around their heads.[30] Anxiety about spies, traitors, and turncoats haunted both sides. In what was probably a futile effort to fix identities and allegiances in the midst of a siege, an official stationed at Hefei in 1853 distributed three thousand strips of white cloth to militia braves on which characters meaning "Union of the Great Qing" (*Da Qing yitong*) had been written. These cloths were three inches wide and a foot long, and the characters were written in a particular style of calligraphy presumably in order to make them more difficult to forge. Militia braves were to wear them sewn into their left sleeves. Only men with this hidden mark were to be permitted to leave or enter the city. Thus, in theory at least, militia men would not be able to scatter and escape; nor would spies and traitors be able to blend in and enter.[31]

Both sides rewarded turncoats with positions of authority and honors. A rebel going over to the Qing side with his men might expect to retain his command; a militia leader who went over to the rebels expected nothing less. An entire brigade might thus change allegiances overnight. Such allies proved unreliable in various ways. Having switched sides once, an officer was likely to do so again, depending on which way the political or military winds were blowing. To offer two such examples, one man helped the Taiping occupy a district in 1859, switched sides, and was honored with a military position by the Qing. Less than a year later, he switched sides again and launched an attack on Yangzhou on behalf of the Taiping that was repelled by a joint force of local militia and Qing soldiers. The man ultimately was captured and executed.[32] At Zhouzhuang, a water-town near Suzhou, a local strongman paid off both sides in order to ensure that his boats could continue to trade across battlelines.[33] At least some of the leaders of his organization dressed in Qing uniform; yet they were known locally to be in rebel service. The Qing officials evidently were aware of the duplicity and tolerated it to maintain order in the area and because the men in question were well-connected.[34] The ubiquitous bandit groups spawned in the chaos were notoriously opportunistic and alternately attached themselves to the Taiping forces and to local militias. A recent or unscrupulous ally, moreover, was unlikely to subscribe deeply to the ideological commitments associated with one side or the other, and contemporaries inevitably blamed these loose affiliates for the war's worst atrocities.

Faced with a successful rebel assault, Qing officials ideally committed suicide, preserving their honor through acts of loyal self-destruction. But

many ran away, or worse, surrendered, thereby betraying the populations they ostensibly were supposed to protect. Such behavior should have been appalling to anyone who took obligation to the dynasty seriously, and indeed, the perfidy of Qing officials and officers was widely blamed for the rebellion's longevity and appeal.[35] Disbanded Qing soldiers and bandit gangs newly affiliated with the Taiping army were widely understood to pose a particular threat to civilians.[36] Such recruits to the Taiping side were not subject to the rigorous discipline for which the "old brethren" had become famous.[37] These men expected to earn their keep in loot and famously did not heed the Heavenly King's repeated injunctions against rape and pillage.

In addition to true believers and opportunists who at least joined of their own volition, the rebel ranks also were swollen with captives who had been impressed into Taiping service. These included men, women, teenagers, and the elderly. Contemporary argot assigned special names to the captive groups. The able-bodied male captives were termed "*paimian*" or "heads" and were inducted into the Taiping army. The elderly and infirm were assigned menial tasks and were called "*paiwei*" or "tails."[38] These captives were, accordingly, divided by gender, organized into lodges, and put to work. Typically, such individuals spoke in the dialect of more recently occupied territories, rather than the Cantonese of the old brethren who were understood by Qing sympathizers and foreigner observers alike to be the true "Southern" rebels.

At the most basic level, captives added strength and numbers to militias or rebel units. Preventing foot soldiers from succumbing to what was understood at the time as a deeply ingrained desire to return home required either ideological inculcation or, failing that, physical labeling. Militias interrogated travelers and sought to assign them to categories: Were the strangers that they picked up on the road, most of them commoners and former captives, good men at heart, or were they rebels? Could men who lived by their wits, such as hired laborers and vegetable sellers with criminal pasts, be trusted when they said they were captives and had no real affinity for the Taiping cause?[39] What of the many cooks and porters and tailors, embroiderers and water carriers who claimed to have been pressed into rebel service?[40] What of the beggars on the roads or those carrying large (and thus suspicious) bundles of clothing? Or the groups who had sworn "oaths of companionship" and traveled together with no apparent affinity other than a shared desire to return to their respective homes? Who could serve as their guarantors, and on what basis? What attributes revealed their inherent loy-

alty or treachery? From what signifiers could their innocence be assumed or denied? And indeed, to what extent can we assume that those who did the interrogating were themselves reliable and honest agents—or that their surviving deposition reports reflect anything close to reality?[41] Identities were assigned, imputed, and embodied and thus could be interrogated and cross-checked (or changed), although perhaps not definitively, leaving lingering anxieties. Affinities, often involuntary, were worn as labels, uniforms, and tags—and in some cases they might be tattooed onto the face.

Inscribed on the Face

Those who witnessed or participated in the war were marked by it, figuratively and literally. Veterans and civilians maimed in the fighting bore painful reminders of their experience on their bodies. Burns, wounds, and broken bones testified to the violence of the times, as did the emotional scars that afflicted widows, orphans, refugees, and similar victims of or witnesses to wartime atrocities. But there were also other scars, as well, those made deliberately on the bodies of captives as signs of subordination and humiliating affiliation. The Taiping tattooed the faces of some of those they captured with the name of their polity and branded the heads of their spies and captives with a crescent-shaped (or cruciform) mark.[42] In so doing, the Taiping forces evoked Qing penal practice and assumed by analogy the position of a power that had the capacity to punish transgressors and brand those who toiled on its behalf. The Taiping armies also evidently absorbed at least some fugitives from the Qing penal system; brand marks and tattoos on their faces gave testament to their criminal pasts.[43] Tattooing seems to have been an important medium for demarcating or assigning identities to conscripts in wartime. Writing words on faces had a long history in Chinese penal and military practice; it tapped into deeply engrained symbols of social alienation and criminality.[44] We have no way of knowing how many people were so marked; but the image of the tattooed face figures insistently in the contemporary literature.

On the eighteenth day of the fifth lunar month in 1860, a militia patrol from Anzhen in Changzhou Prefecture picked up a forty-one-year-old man near Wuxi with "The Flourishing Kingdom of the Taiping" (Taiping xing guo) tattooed on his face. Who was he? Where did he come from? And how should they understand the characters tattooed on his face? Was he a rebel by commitment, or merely by inscription? The militia patrol put him in the

cangue, an instrument of penal subordination worn around the neck and shoulders of the offender, and took him to the militia bureau to investigate and interrogate.[45] Indeed, the tattooed man enters the historical record only because the militia kept cursory accounts of their depositions, which survive in manuscript form as part of a collection of materials related to the Anzhen militia's activities and communications. The deposition records cumulatively seem intent on demonstrating the humaneness and even leniency of the militia, although this may well be a deliberate fiction.[46] In every case, the interrogation records describe the process through which the militia determined whether a refugee's testimony was credible, releasing those they found persuasive with travel documents so that they might safely go home to their native places. And yet, in 1860, many of these home communities remained under rebel occupation. Were the militias releasing people into Taiping territory with fresh Qing passports? What did they hope to accomplish thereby?

As for the tattooed captive, the militia interrogators determined that his name was Yan Heda and that he was from a market town just west of Jiangyin, a county seat in Changzhou Prefecture in southern Jiangsu Province. He told the militia men that not long after the region fell to the rebels (and not long before he was picked up by the militia) he had been taken captive by the Taiping forces. The next day, his captors took him to their headquarters at Wuxi and tattooed his face. A day later, he escaped near Suzhou only to be picked up by the local militia. According to the militia report, his responses were impeccable; in the course of their interrogation, he manifested no suspicious behavior at all. The militia bureau concluded that "even if the tattooing on his face will not disappear, he is in fact a good commoner (liangmin) who should be released for return to his native place and given travel papers explaining his situation so that he will not be further troubled along the road."[47] The travel papers that the militia issued may have provided some measure of protection at least as long as he remained in Qing-held territory, although in that moment the scope of Qing territory in southern Jiangsu was limited and shrinking.

As Yan Heda's militia interrogators presumably understood, the Taiping used facial tattooing to punish conscripts who attempted to escape. He was thus marked as a reluctant rebel and the victim of a humiliating punishment. Ironically, that he bore the stigma of his association with the rebels might well have been interpreted by the militia as a sign of the weakness of that association. It is, however, also possible that the tattoos on his face may

have made it difficult for him to be reintegrated into his home community. We have no way of knowing. The sources are silent on what became of tattooed men like Yan after the war ended. What is important, or what we can know, is that the act of marking alluded to long-standing and degrading penal and military practice even as it also literally made the experience of this war manifest on an individual's body.

To inscribe words on another man's face was to assert absolute authority over him in an act of shattering humiliation. The right to write punitively on the flesh of another at least theoretically would have been reserved for the state as a form of sanctioned violence, although clearly it was possible that a power other than the state might brand words on flesh. To punish by writing on the face was to assert authority by analogy to the state; that the rebels wrote on the faces of captives posed existential challenges, politically (to the dynasty displaced) and personally (to the person tattooed). The face served a powerful metaphor for the self in late imperial China. Survivors of humiliating or morally compromising experiences often voiced concern that they had no face with which to face society. Because of the layers of meaning associated with "face," there was particular resonance in inscribing social or political identity directly onto the face. Facial tattoos marked a man as being outside the bounds of human society. Unlike gang tattoos, which encoded voluntary affiliation and might be understood as empowering, tattoos imposed on criminals and conscripts were both involuntary and debasing.[48]

Late imperial Chinese punitive practice reproduced social hierarchies and boundaries through acts of bodily inscription. The skin of criminals might in some cases be made to bear legible marks testifying to the type of their transgression or their destination in exile. In theory, educated elites, including those at the lowest rungs of the examination system, were protected from the indignity of state-inflicted corporal punishment, including branding or tattooing.[49] However, during the war such status privileges were overturned and former elites suddenly found themselves subject to physical abuse under the new regime. Phrases such as "stone and jade destroyed together," which appear frequently in writings of the period, highlight elite umbrage at the fact that former prerogatives were suddenly rendered meaningless and status afforded no immunity for either person or property.[50] Even the formerly educated and powerful were potentially subjected to manual labor and corporal punishment; some preferred to hide their more refined abilities in order to preserve some measure of anonymity or distance

from the rebel cause. Others complained bitterly about the disruption of formerly sacrosanct prerogatives.[51]

Punishment by facial branding or tattooing dated back to pre-Tang times in China, and hence the tattoo had long been associated with crime and its consequences.[52] Along with cutting off the nose, amputating the feet, castration, and death, facial branding was one of the five major punishments imposed by the state in ancient times.[53] All five of these punishments deliberately disfigured the criminal's body, making visible in or on the flesh a criminal's alienation from the norms of human community. This expectation of (permanent) bodily difference was modulated with changes in statutory punishment regimes in later dynasties, which tended to favor beating, flogging, penal servitude, and exile, in addition to the death penalty.[54] In the late imperial period, the statutes emphasized humiliation and subordination through physical domination by means of flogging. In the event of more serious crimes, exile and penal servitude (both often accompanied by tattooing) and death removed the criminal from accustomed social contexts. In spite of the statutory changes that led to reorientation of these earlier penal regimens, tattooing continued for centuries as a form of "supplemental punishment" and was routinely imposed upon repeat offenders and escaped convicts during the Qing.[55]

State-sanctioned tattooing had connotations of captivity, forced labor, and control, as well as criminality. Under the Qing code, the circumstances and content of such writing were at least in theory clearly defined and circumscribed. Because tattooing served as surety against the escape of those sentenced to penal servitude and exile, the convict was made to bear the name of his offense and possibly the place of exile on his skin. According to the legal code promulgated in 1646, at the first offense a convict might have his crime tattooed on his right forearm. At second offense, a tattoo would be added to the left arm. On third offense (and in all cases after 1692), the name of the offense would be tattooed onto the convict's temple or forehead.[56] In all cases, the words to be inscribed and the size of the characters were subject to regulation. Women, seniors, and youths were exempt from tattooing.[57]

Marking the face, which was assumed always to be exposed, was far more severe a punishment than tattooing the arms, which could be covered with clothing. Because of the shame that it made so potently visible, tattooing also was thought to serve as a powerful deterrent to potential criminals, warning the community against unreliable elements by making their crimi-

nality, displacement, and alienation immediately manifest.[58] It also facilitated identification and control. Convicts sent into exile in Xinjiang had characters tattooed on their faces, even as they also carried identification papers listing their native place, age, crime, distinguishing scars, and a description of their fingerprints.[59] The papers facilitated passage to Xinjiang. The tattoos in theory ensured that if convicts escaped, they would not find it easy to reintegrate into local society. In practice, tattoos were not absolutely permanent, although the premise of indelibility made them particularly terrifying as marks of shame. Tattoos could be removed legally (if painfully) from convicts by officials for good behavior. They also were often removed illegally, either in collusion with the official who applied them to begin with (who might be bribed to use impermanent ink lightly applied) or by scarification over the tattoo whether by burning, moxibustion, or applying astringents to the marked skin.[60]

In areas under Taiping control, facial tattooing served as an instrument of punishment and control. In order to terrorize conscripts into submission, those fighting for the Taiping side capitalized upon anxieties about mutilation and the associations with criminality attendant upon tattooing and bodily defacement. Disfigurement alienated those so marked from their home communities and signaled their liminal status even within the Taiping movement. This type of tattooing not only had penal connotations but also participated in a tradition of military tattooing whereby ordinary people were impressed into armies and tattooed to prevent desertion or as punishment for an attempted escape. For example, an account written during the Song dynasty alludes to the isolation felt by tattooed captives impressed into the military, their desire to return to their hometowns, and the alienation and criminality that resulted from their marked state when they attempted to run away.[61] Taiping facial tattooing evoked a similar set of associations: homesickness, alienation, and slippage between soldiery and banditry.

A dramatic reference to tattooing appears in Li Gui's *Record of Pondering Pain* (*Si tong ji*), a vivid account of the author's nearly three years of captivity among the Taiping. The memoir is filled with sensory details—sights, sounds, smells, and sensations—that conspire to make this account seem both artfully literary and viscerally real. The author highlights the torments of captives like himself, particularly those who had sought to escape. The camps were said to be haunted by the ghosts of murdered captives; the bone-chilling sound of moaning filled the air at sunset.[62] Li enumerates other punishments inflicted on the captives: mutilation, ears and noses sliced

off, branding. Some had a slogan tattooed on their faces that read "Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, Kill Demons with a True Heart."[63] According to Li, this tattooing was called "carving characters," and "the ink penetrated all the way to the bone."[64] By contrast with other reported instances of tattooing, the particular characters said to have been inscribed on the faces of escaped captives do not simply mark them with the name of the rebel dynasty, and thus as property of the Taiping military organization. Rather, they proclaim the regime's mission: to kill the Qing demons—the Manchus and all those who served them. These words also forcibly identify their bearer publicly, truly, and righteously with that mission. The reference both to a "true heart" and to tattooing seems to echo martial-arts fiction with its valorization of dedication to a worthy but marginalized cause. Perhaps this might be an allusion to the abundantly tattooed and notoriously righteous bandit heroes of the *Water Margin*, whose story would have been familiar to all from public storytelling and opera performances. Regardless, by documenting the brutality of his experience with reference to the particulars of corporal punishment meted out against captives, Li also justifies his own extended service among the rebels. He was terrorized, and thus coerced. Fear of violence kept him among the rebels, first as a slave and then, forced to reveal the secret of his own literacy, as a secretary and accountant.

Li then describes his own close call with corporal punishment. Afraid to escape, and yet seemingly overwhelmed by constant thoughts of it, Li Gui is picked up by one of the more vicious of the rebel officers. The circumstances of his recapture are somewhat ambiguous; Li Gui was working outside the camp and seems to have been thinking about running away, but unsure of his chances, he has not yet decisively bolted. Captured again, he anticipates his own death. But then someone calls for the tattooist to inscribe characters on his face instead. Li Gui describes his feeling of terror and rage: tattoos would be permanent and visible throughout his lifetime; and he wonders silently, "Wouldn't death thus be cleaner?" He calls out, "I would rather die than be tattooed!" And when the tattooist arrives, he resists with all his might. His captor laughs; others suggest that perhaps tattooing might not be necessary. Another rebel sharpens a knife and stabs him in the shoulder, saying that he's been let off easy this time. The physical pain is so intense that Li nearly collapses; he thinks he is about to faint. In a moment of clarity, he recognizes the man who will become his new patron among the rebels: a well-spoken man from Zhejiang dressed in the yellow robes of a Taiping official.[65] In escaping from the tattooist's needle, Li ironically loses his chance

to escape from the rebels. Ownership is not inscribed on his face, and yet, he becomes more closely bound to his captors.

In the succeeding section, he writes of how his unit occupied the city of Jintan. Once the men enter the walls, surveillance intensifies and Li is made to reveal his true identity as a man of letters. As a granary accountant to the rebels, he is, for the moment at least, effectively trapped. His face remains unmarred, but metaphorically he feels the stain of his sorely tested loyalty. Additionally, there are intimations of class anxiety encoded in his description of his encounter with the tattooist. We see this in the contrasts between the thug from Hubei and the noble rebel in yellow from Zhejiang who becomes his protector and patron. Mutilation of the elite body was taboo under personal, familial, and legal regimes. This would have made Li Gui's account of his near miss with the tattooist's needle even more terrifying to his contemporaries and peers than it is to us.

During the Taiping war, physical markings inked onto the face were the subject of nervous scrutiny by militia patrols even as they were also later recalled anxiously in the writings of former captives. Some among the Western military men, diplomats, and missionaries who visited Taiping territory also made note of the tattoos or branding they observed on the faces and bodies of captives and slaves, even as they highlighted the cruel and unusual punishments, strange practices, and exotic clothing that implicitly revealed the alien character and cruelty of men whom some of their compatriots wanted to understand as Christian brethren. In the nineteenth-century European context, tattooing had strong associations with the primitive exotic; the long history of tattoos, including facial tattoos, as punishment in early modern Europe tended to be overlooked, as the practice came to be associated with the barbarity of indigenes in the colonies in the nineteenth century.[66] At the same time, however, branding and tattooing, as well as other forms of extreme corporal punishment, were all part of the repertoire of punishments inflicted upon runaway slaves in the Americas and in European colonies in Asia. Tattooing thus was perhaps more uncomfortably familiar to mid-nineteenth-century Westerners than contemporary accounts of the practice in Taiping-held territory and elsewhere allowed.

Several reports of encounters with tattooed captives appear in the writings of foreign visitors to Taiping territory. In 1862, the bishop of Victoria, en route from Hong Kong to Beijing by way of Shanghai, paid a call on the "Rebel Chiefs now occupying Ningbo." The British visitors encountered Chinese captives who told them they were "held against their will and

wanted to escape." Some of them bore tattoo marks on their face—"the heavenly dynasty of the Taeping"—as a punishment for having attempted to desert. The tattoos in this latter case were presented by the columnist as a physical manifestation of the desolation and misery of life in captivity.[67] In a letter to the British envoy and superintendent of trade, Frederick Bruce, diplomat H. S. Parkes observed that

> soldiers and slaves form the only two classes of the rebel population within Nanking; many of the latter are branded with the four characters "Tae ping teen kwoh" or Taeping Heavenly Kingdom. They have been brought from all the provinces that the rebels have overrun, receive no pecuniary remuneration, and are fed twice a day in the palace or yamun of the Wang or Chief to whom they belong. Their countenances reveal very clearly the degrading character of their servitude, and the remarks made by a few who could speak without being overheard, betrayed their anxiety to escape from it.[68]

However, for others similarly marked, Parkes speculated, slavery in the Taiping capital might in fact represent an improvement over the hardship to which they were ordinarily accustomed. Under their current circumstances, at least they had "a sufficiency of food and shelter."

In a report on his travels between Shanghai and Nanjing dated March 1861, the British acting consul at Ningbo, Robert James Forrest, noted that upon entering the moat at Suzhou, a junction manned by a grubby toll-keeper, he had conversed with soldiers, many of whom had the name of the rebel dynasty "pricked onto their cheeks," and none of whom provided him with useful intelligence.[69] These conscripts seemed to Forrest to have been resigned to their fate; they showed little concern for their futures as long as they were fed. They appear as passive elements in a landscape of utter destruction: of smashed and burned homes and bewildered people. Forrest was considered to be an expert on matters concerning the Taiping; in some of his writings, he showed sympathy for them, and he wrote relatively favorably of his conversations with Hong Ren'gan in Nanjing, although he concluded that Hong Xiuquan was probably a madman.[70]

Forrest's consular report vividly evokes a grim and desolate place: the tattooed men, the deserted moat, the complete ruination of the city and its once flourishing suburbs, the absence of formerly vital trade, and the general devastation that extended along the route taken by the Taiping army from Nanjing to Suzhou.[71] Forrest's accounts circulated broadly. He published articles about his travels in the *North China Herald* in addition to his consular reports, and his reports and articles were incorporated virtually verbatim, al-

though with the paragraph order somewhat rearranged, into books authored by others. Lindesey Brine, for example, drew heavily upon Forrest in his chapter on conditions in rebel-occupied territory, as did Thomas Blakiston.[72] Both Brine and Blakiston were men who had served in the British military but who also acquired reputations, through their writings as explorers and scientists and commentators on military and geographical matters. At the end of several pages dense with quotations from Forrest, Brine (who clearly did not himself know much about the Chinese writing system) shifts suddenly to his own voice in order to report that several soldiers were seen at or near Suzhou with the character (*sic*) "Taeping dynasty" "pricked into their cheeks." He then adds that the same phenomenon was observed by "one of our native Protestant converts" who visited Suzhou not long after the city fell to the rebels.

According to Brine, in a paper on his travels presented at a gathering of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai, Forrest explained the true cause of this practice: to prevent desertion by marking captives who tried to escape upon their recapture.[73] The venue at which Forrest presented his observations, a club for British and American expatriates interested in intellectual matters affiliated with an Orientalist society in London, suggests that Taiping tattoos were an object of scholarly scrutiny and scientific fascination: they were simultaneously an instantly recognizable sign of the captive's abject and degraded state and a mark of what made the Taiping exotic, vaguely barbaric, and perhaps not truly Christian in their practices.

Hair, Face, Polity, Self

That the Taiping were widely known as the Hair Bandits (Fa zei, Fa ni) or the Long Hairs (Changmao) reflected their serious abrogation of political norms; these were not frivolous nicknames. The rebels were heterodox in their religious beliefs, defiant of the dynasty, and treasonable in their hairstyle—all of which were serious offenses. The association between the rebels and hair seems to have been both literal and imaginative. In enumerating a chronology of portents and prodigies witnessed in Jiangyin during this period, the editors of the local gazetteer note that during the second lunar month of 1860 the earth itself sprouted hair. In the fourth month, the county seat fell to the Taiping army, with their prodigiously—and seditiously—sprouting foreheads. Other gazetteers from the region referred to similar phenomena.[74] Many contemporary observers and memoirists made

note of how the rebels and their captives styled their hair—and Taiping sources cite historical, ethnic, and physiological justifications for what they did with their hair. For foreign visitors, hair may have been part of an ethnographic register of familiarity and difference; it was in some cases an element in their efforts at cross-cultural masquerade. But for Chinese writers, hair, as a fraught political symbol expressive of loyalty or subversion, was a key site for articulating political relationships, whether voluntary or coerced. It thus demanded attention and documentation.

In Qing China, the style of a man's hair was an intensely political matter: hair was the object of government mandate rather than a matter for fashion choice.[75] There were, for men, but two options: adopt the hairstyle mandated by the Qing, or engage in a serious act of treason by not doing so. From the time of the Manchu conquest in the seventeenth century, nearly all Chinese men had been compelled to adopt the queue, which combined a shaved forehead at front with a long braid in back. Almost immediately after occupying Beijing in 1644, the imperial regent issued an order that all Chinese men should adopt the queue; shaving the forehead would signal submission to the new regime. After many protested, the order was rescinded, but not forgotten.[76]

By an imperial order of July 1645, all men in Qing-controlled territory were required to change their hairstyle. Failure to do so was tantamount to treason and punishable by decapitation.[77] Large numbers of men resisted; elites and commoners, until recently cleft by conflict, found common cause in defying the order to shave their foreheads. The elites cited classical and customary precedent for not interfering with the natural appearance of skin and hair, maintenance of which was considered an expression of filial gratitude.[78] Commoners evidently took umbrage as widespread rumors hinted that the change in hairstyle threatened their marriages and masculinity.[79] Fighting broke out between communities that shaved and those that did not.[80] At Jiangyin and Jiading, county seats near Shanghai, resistance to the Qing centered on the hair-cutting order. And in both places, tens of thousands died, marking both cities as centers of loyalist sentiment. Ironically, two centuries later, in the aftermath of the Taiping war, both cities again self-consciously (even proudly) identified as places where loyalty-unto-death flourished, because of their earlier experiences of loyalist resistance and mass death. In the earlier case, the men of Jiangyin and Jiading died resisting an order to shave. In the latter case, they were celebrated in effect for having died to remain clean-shaven.

During the centuries of Qing rule, hair remained symbolically charged and politically sensitive. Buddhist monks, who shaved the entire head, were among the few categories of people exempted from the order to wear the queue. In the eighteenth century, Muslims in Xinjiang also received special dispensation to maintain their customary hairstyle. In other contexts, the penalties for failure to adhere to the dynasty's hair policy were severe. Men caught with unshaven foreheads were decapitated. Officials in the jurisdictions where they were captured were punished for tolerating traitors.[81] As Philip Kuhn points out in a book centered on a case of queue-clipping, the tonsure decree was, and remained, "a touchstone whereby the Throne tested its servants."[82] Kuhn further identifies shaving of the forehead, not retention of the braid, as the key site of political and emotional contention, even as he points to a general sensitivity about hair and its purported magical powers.[83] During the Taiping war, the Qing and the Taiping imposed competing hairstyles on subject populations. The Qing continued their centuries-long insistence on a clean-shaven forehead, and whenever they recaptured territory or individuals they re-enforced the tonsure. The Taiping, by contrast, prohibited shaving.[84] Under Qing rule, a clean forehead was supposed to be an important part of a man's physical and political identity. As a feature of the face, it may have become a familiar part of a man's sense of the self he presented to society.

The appellation "Long Hairs" as applied to the rebels referred to the growth up top, not the loosening of the braid. In rebelling against the Qing regime, the Taiping ceased to shave their foreheads; in general, however they maintained the queue.[85] At the same time, they adopted some notable styles of headgear: contemporary observers describe red turbans, unusual hoods and caps, or festoons of red or yellow ribbons in their queues (by contrast with the black or dark blue thread used by Qing subjects).[86] The length of a man's forehead hair provided a rough measure of his allegiance to the rebels, or at least a gauge of how long someone had been under rebel control. It, too, thus became the subject of comment.

In Taiping territory, secretaries with fully grown out forehead hair were considered "old rebels" and so were known by one title; those with short stubble were known by a different (and presumably less prestigious) one. Li Gui describes an encounter with a Hunanese man, dressed in black and armed with a large knife. His provincial origins were obvious from his accent: he spoke Hunan dialect, calling his captives "demon spawn." His forehead hair, Li Gui observes, had reached a length of about five [Chinese]

inches and flapped a bit, like that of a woman; he seems, from Li's perspective, both terrifying and a bit ridiculous.[87] The growth of Li's own hair marked the length of his captivity and thus plumbed the depth of his homesickness—he writes, after two years, "my hair had gradually grown long, my grief intensified, my hometown was far away, and floating clouds covered the sky."[88]

The change in hairstyle was inextricably linked to shifts in political control. Once the Taiping established control over an area, they instituted a ban on shaving. A document from 1861 vividly justifies their policy on religious, moral, bodily, and political grounds. In "A Hero's Return to Truth," structured as a dialogue between Hong Xiuquan's newly powerful cousin Hong Ren'gan (the Gan King) and a former Qing official who had deserted to the Taiping, Hong Ren'gan's interlocutor, the former Qing official, asks him to explain the Taiping policy on growing out the hair, in the process giving voice to a series of hypothetical objections, all of which hinge on prosaic questions of convenience and comfort:

> But still there are ignorant men who say that letting our hair grow long is inconvenient; that if we don't have it shaved every half month the itching will be unbearable; that in former dynasties, though they let their hair grow long, it was in fact not as convenient. Moreover, if the head is not shaved for some time, when the weather gets hot it will immediately begin to itch, which we do not like.

The Gan King interrupts, majestically and eruditely. He enumerates profound reasons for the Taiping policy, which were, he observes, grounded in moral principles and bodily truths. Hair "grows on the head just as grass grows on the mountains." The bare mountain erodes and loses its beauty. The shaved forehead leads to "a consequent loss of spirit and deterioration of the brain, giving rise to frequent attacks of dizziness and forgetfulness." In order to retain one's clarity of mind and vigor of body, one must allow the hair to grow. Moreover, the Gan King tells the former Qing official, hair is something essential to the body and thus (in a Christian framework) it is created in the divine image. Hair, he points out, is quite different from clothing; it is a gift from the deity nurtured while in the mother's womb. To cut it off is to defy the divine and rebel against heaven; it is also to commit a profoundly unfilial act. Finally, he concludes, the queue was imposed by the "devils" when they conquered China at the end of the Ming; "our ancestors were in no wise willing to shave off their hair." To this he adds, even chil-

dren cry out when their hair is cut; women grow their hair long and do not complain of itching in hot weather. Thus, he concludes, it is right to grow the hair; to shave is unfilial, unpatriotic, unnatural, and ungodly—and thus fundamentally contrary to the rules of the new regime.[89] And, he implies, in light of this, itching and inconvenience were unworthy concerns.

To live in Taiping territory meant paying taxes to the new authorities in exchange for new identity documents. For men, it also meant growing out one's hair. An observer in southern Jiangsu noted that once the Taiping forces established a tax collection station in his hometown, it became impossible for residents to have their foreheads shaved and thus it also became difficult for them to leave Taiping-held territory for business.[90] The converse of course was also true, creating difficulties for merchants and other travelers who needed to cross between Qing and Taiping territory. The same observer describes how he grew out his hair for six months after the rebels occupied his home region, but then, because "that hair of mine was flying all over the place, I could not travel [to Shanghai] and had to shave it clean." After two weeks in Shanghai, he decides to return to his hometown, but again, travel was inconvenient, this time because the hair on his forehead was too short, so he had to live in hiding while growing his hair.[91]

The Qing and their militia allies massacred civilians with hair on their foreheads; the Taiping killed those with freshly shaved pates.[92] Civilians were understandably anxious about the state of their foreheads in the event of invasion or reconquest. Qing officers offered rewards for every hairy head that soldiers brought in. The amount of the reward correlated with the length of the hair: a head with five inches of growth on the forehead garnered the maximum reward.[93] As militias retook the area around Taicang in southern Jiangsu, they issued orders that the populace should shave their heads. But even as refugees in the vicinity conceded that they did not like having their hair long, they also feared having it short in case the militia retreated. And so they did not shave. Later, in response to a proclamation announcing that the time had come to shave their foreheads and kill the rebels and in response to rumors of imminent Qing victory, some shaved their foreheads and rose up against the rebels. But anticipated military support did not materialize, and they were left with bare foreheads to face the rebels. The results were, predictably, calamitous.[94] Anxious rumors about hair were rampant, particularly as the war crashed to a close. Some said that even the rebels were shaving their foreheads and seizing clothing from civilians in order to avoid being killed. Others suggested that the rebels were preventing

people from changing their hairstyles—and thereby dooming them to certain death.[95] After the fall of Nanjing, many civilian residents of the Taiping capital immediately shaved their foreheads as an expression of their surrender to the Hunan Army. Most were executed anyway. Apparently the skin on their scalps was paler than their faces—a sure sign that they had only recently been rebel subjects and thus, the soldiers from Hunan concluded that they deserved absolutely no mercy.[96] Zhao Liewen described the mayhem that ensued: streets littered with corpses, many of them of old people, infants, and toddlers. Young women raped or carried off. Wounded bodies brutalized and bleeding. The incessant sound of wailing.[97]

In addition to signifying allegiance and signaling insubordination, hair could also be an instrument of humiliation and control. Not only did hair have potent symbolic and political associations, but the long braid in fact also afforded a convenient and degrading handle for tormentors intent on inflicting bodily harm. Ke Wuchi recalled being tied to the saddle of a rebel's horse by the queue when he was captured and he also described how a Taiping soldier held him by the hair in order to slash at him with a knife.[98] Similarly, in his captivity memoir, Zhao Yucun wrote of having been grabbed by the braid by a militia man who he thought was about to kill him.[99] Many former captives described how they had been made to march while tied together by the queue or with long ropes binding them through the base of their braids.[100] In *Tears for Jiangnan*, Yu Zhi describes captives tied together with hemp ropes looped through their hair so that they could not escape. They resembled a woven net, he wrote, or fish strung up on lines. The accompanying illustration shows the pathos of their situation in order to elicit sympathy and support.[101] Other sources describe captives shackled together—their braids threaded through a large bamboo tube and their hands and feet bound to prevent escape. One man recalled spending the night thus encumbered: "The sound of mosquitoes was like thunder; it was truly suffering unlike anything that I had experienced before in my life."[102]

Shaving one's forehead, even under the best of circumstances, seems to have been difficult to manage on one's own. Itinerant barbers played an important role in local society and quotidian practice across the empire throughout the Qing period. Presumably their livelihood in this period was closely linked to the fate of the Qing regime. Anecdotal evidence suggests that itinerant barbers provided a key service to former Taiping captives and soldiers who wished to reintegrate into Qing society and that they therefore accompanied armies and militias in order to ply their trade. In a painted



Figure 3.1. Detail from a painted map of Nanjing showing barbers.
SOURCE: Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

map showing a standoff between the forces of the Great (Qing) Jiangnan Encampment (Jiangnan da ying) and the Taiping armies in the suburbs of Nanjing, a barber's station can be seen among the small vendors around the Qing encampment outside the walled city. Near the barbers, we see an opera stage and tailors repairing clothing; peddlers sell fish and chickens and firewood. More ominously, four severed heads hang by their hair just behind the barbers.[103]

The Anzhen militia made especial note of when exactly the refugees and escapees that they picked up along the road had shaved their foreheads. In many cases, they recorded both the fact of a shaved forehead and the time and place where those they interrogated had been shaved. Presumably this provided clues as to a captive's intentions upon escape. Some militias seem to have worked with barbers directly, asking them to provide services on the spot. Others sent captives to barbershops for shaving.[104] One former captive recalled the humiliation of having no money to pay for the shave arranged by the militia that picked him up after he escaped from the rebels in Southern Jiangsu. The barber refused even to accept his shoes and clothing as compensation because of their poor condition.[105]

There was, seemingly, an emotional dimension to hairstyle as well, although the authenticity of these feelings is, of course, difficult to gauge. Some former captives reflected mournfully on their inability to shave while under Taiping control; others claimed to have rejoiced at renewed smoothness and their return to imperial subjecthood. One blamed injuries to his scalp and the fact that his hair was matted with blood for his inability to properly style his hair during his period of captivity and registered wonder that he had been able to survive the indignity. He calls attention to his hair to deflect responsibility for his failure to maintain it; he was, he implies, not disloyal—grievous wounds caused him to grow out his hair—and he should not be considered a traitor but rather a victim.[106] There is a performative quality to his statement; the passage feels as if it is meant to be understood as the right explanation for questionable actions.

In his *Record of Pondering Pain*, Li Gui describes how, after escaping from captivity, a companion helped him shave his forehead almost immediately. As surety, however, he shaved only two (Chinese) inches, leaving an inch in case they were overtaken again. Li Gui writes that, "[in terms of the length of my hair] I looked like a Hangzhou native." In other words, he appeared to have been in rebel territory for rather less time than he actually had been.[107] As Li and his companions approached Shanghai, they sensed

that they were out of Taiping territory and decided to deal with their overgrown forehead hair. They engaged a barber, paying him a Mexican silver dollar each. Li shares his feelings in that moment: "With my pate returned to its former state, I felt as though my old self had returned to me! Oh happiness! Oh happiness!"[108]

This should, it would seem, be the final expression of reunion and restoration: a man's clean-shaven forehead reminds him that he has returned to his past, to his home, and to his dynasty. And yet, in the next paragraph, he reminds us that there can be no going back. Restoration, even on this personal level, remained only superficial and incomplete, perhaps even illusory. For while his forehead was, once again, restored to smoothness, his mind remained tormented by the memory of what he witnessed—the strange and unspeakable atrocities described in his memoir. He asks, rhetorically, when he will "have his head back" and when he will "achieve a respite from pain and from pondering pain." More than a decade after the war, and after completing a memoir of his wonder-filled trip around the world, Li Gui describes how he remained troubled by his experience of war and captivity.[109] For Li Gui, reconciliation and return seem to have remained frustratingly fraught and incomplete; shaving, he seems to suggest, was the easy part.

Worn on the Body

Clothing was an important site for ethnic, regional, gender, and status differentiation in nineteenth-century China. People looked to clothing in order to establish affinities or underscore differences. After the Taiping established their capital at Nanjing in 1853, they began systematically to use clothing to differentiate among the ranks within their military and political organization. New recruits and captives were immediately given new clothes to wear. Testimony by former rebels in Qing custody suggests that for many changing sides consisted of changing clothes. Captured by the Taiping forces, one man put on the red clothing and turban offered by his captors and thereby became one of them; seeking to escape, he cast the red clothing into a rice paddy and replaced it with a blue jacket and green shoes stolen from a dilapidated house.[110] In the war's endgame, clothing offered one possible method by which to determine who was a Qing ally and who was not. One man proposed that upon recapturing a city, those wearing red, yellow, or green should be killed along with those who wore yellow kerchiefs and red shoes. Those who continued to follow local custom in their dress by

contrast should be understood as having not yet changed their allegiance and so should not be killed.[111]

Records of experiences among the Taiping, whether by Chinese or foreign authors, almost inevitably make mention of what the rebels were wearing. In so doing, authors charted contrasts between before and after, and self and other. They manifested sympathy or disdain for the rebel cause through their aesthetic judgments. They encoded their own class, regional, and racial prejudices. They also catalogued status distinctions within rebel communities by highlighting variation in costume, or pointed to the virtue of an individual Taiping leader with reference to his relative refinement in speech or clothing style. An enemy dressed in the style of one's hometown might choose to assist a compatriot in distress.[112] Shared native place, a captive hoped, might inspire a feeling of connection and engender extra protection.

Chinese elites living in the Taiping capital more often than not commented on the poor taste of the rebel leadership. The kings and their officials and officers wore gaudy colors and styles that transgressed prevailing standards of informed good taste. They were even said to misuse women's clothing, wearing ladies' pants as turbans, for example, suggesting inversion of social and gender norms and an almost carnivalesque disruption of normal standards of behavior.[113]

Writing about their experiences in Taiping territory, foreign observers were no less attentive than were their Chinese counterparts to ethnographic detail. Like many Chinese observers, foreign writers also sought to discern political affinities (or indeed, civilizational truths) in the details of vestimentary regimes; and what they saw tended to confirm their preconceptions. Western descriptions, whether by Taiping sympathizers or critics, tended to fixate on the same features of Taiping appearance. They tended to see and classify physical difference among Chinese in terms of strict racial, status, and class hierarchies. Seemingly, dress and bearing marked men as noble or savage, or as Noble Savage. Indeed, writers attached divergent meanings to what they saw—or rather, they saw the same details as revealing different realities. The same outfit could be identified with savage nobility, Christian virtue, Taiping superiority, brutality, or madness in the eyes of various beholders.

For many Chinese elite observers, what the Taiping wore flagged them as social inferiors. Vivid reds and greens in flashy combination marked the Taiping as a bunch of ill-educated country bumpkins and signaled (to those who opposed them) their unfitness to rule.[114] The Taiping women from

Guangxi and Guangdong wore pants and short shirts, as would have been typical in their home provinces, often adding colorful accessories; to the conquered people of Jiangsu they appeared uncouth and vulgar.[115] One Nanjing resident commented that

> the rebel hags plundered each household of its clothing and decorations. . . . Wearing colorful, flower-embroidered clothes, whether it was a red blouse or a sky-blue outer garment, they walked along barefooted with muddy feet. They hauled goods through the streets on carrying poles, drenching the clothes in sweat without knowing that this was uncouth and without knowing their own stupidity.[116]

There was a theatrical quality to Taiping costume; according to the Nanjing elites who documented the practices of their new overlords, the Taiping imitated opera costumes for want of more accurate sources of information regarding the clothing and practices of the ancient past.[117] Chinese elites expected those who governed to have the good taste in attire, food, and interior decoration that they associated with the educated classes. So they viewed the Taiping through the lens of their own class prejudices and hostility; their contemptuous comments on Taiping clothing reflected these underlying biases and assumptions about the relationships among education, taste, consumption, and power.

To Chinese elite observers, wanton use of yellow on the part of officials of the Taiping regime suggested a deliberate assault on imperial prerogative.[118] Typically, yellow was reserved for the emperor, and for those upon whom he bestowed particular objects and attire as a sign of imperial gratitude for service to the state. During the mid-nineteenth century, the court often bestowed an imperial yellow riding jacket upon worthy subjects as a reward for exceptional military service.[119] This practice seems to have had its origins in the eighteenth century, when the Qianlong emperor granted jackets to meritorious officials in conjunction with their accomplishments in the Jinchuan wars. The jackets came to be known as "Victory Jackets." In their poetry, court officials often paired the yellow riding jacket with the peacock hat medallion—both marks of exceptional imperial favor.[120] Such gifts had particular resonance because they were intimate and otherwise proscribed.

When granted as a gift, clothing became a manifestation of benevolence bestowed within properly hierarchical relationships. Parents provided clothing for their children. The benevolent monarch did the same for his deserving officials. The yellow of the silk suggested alienation from ordi-

nary channels of circulation, as it was ostensibly reserved for imperial use. It could not be sold, in theory, but only gifted—and only by the imperial institution. During the Taiping war, like other types of honorifics, the gift of yellow clothing appears to have been diluted through overuse as the court sought to inspire allegiance with its magnanimity. The color yellow was also appropriated by the Taiping for use by their kings and officials. That elites among the Taiping almost invariably wore yellow silk robes suggested a deliberate act that flaunted their abrogation of Qing authority and norms. At the same time, for Li Gui, the yellow clothing worn by his main patron among the rebels seems to have signaled relative refinement and social position, and thus his patron's more sympathetic attitude to his fellow literati among the captives. The yellow clothes of Taiping kings, officers, and officials inevitably attracted attention among observers, including Chinese captives, foreign missionaries, and diplomats who traveled in Taiping territory.

What foreigners wrote about what the Taiping wore, how they looked, and how they spoke tended also to correspond to their view of the Taiping movement overall. Comments on clothing could reflect a particular author's perspective on Taiping Christianity, the rebellion's implications for trade, whether the Taiping cause represented a viable political alternative to the Qing, and thus whether the writer's home country should support the rebels, support the Qing, or uphold the formal fiction of neutrality and nonintervention. Foreign observations also reflect the beholders' racial and class biases. Those who supported the Taiping contrasted them favorably to the degradation and racial inferiority that they disdainfully identified with the Chinese more generally. Those who despised the Taiping expressed contempt for their physical appearance and style. To some extent, the dominant mood among foreign observers changed over time, shifting from optimistic anticipation (especially in missionary circles) that these yellow-clad, long-haired men were noble proto-Christians to an emphasis on their unkempt, disheveled, and uncivilized appearance as an outward manifestation of their chaotic ill-fitness to rule. The latter view was, even in an earlier period, especially typical of diplomats and businessmen who sought to rally British sentiment against the Taiping in service to what they saw as Britain's vital trading interests in China.

Charles Taylor's memoir, *Five Years in China*, is loaded with lavish descriptions of Chinese hairstyles, costume, and customs, both among the Taiping and more generally. Not surprisingly, Taylor closely documents what he saw people wearing during his visits to Taiping territory. He ob-

serves that the Taiping uniform was "multiform, apparently from the want of a sufficient quantity of cloth or silk of the requisite colors, which appeared to be yellow for their close jackets, and red or blue for their loose pantaloons."[121] The diversity of costume reflected the variety of individuals that had joined the Taiping cause: "Their garments were as diversified in color as were the soldiers themselves in age, size, cast of countenance and dialect, for they had been gathered from the several provinces through which the patriot army had passed in its victorious march."[122] Taylor observes that the crowd shared his curiosity and examined his hat, hands, and dress "with much the same interest with which one would look at some heretofore unheard of species, in a menagerie."[123] Like many foreign observers, he notes that Taiping officers wore yellow silk or satin caps trimmed in red, which not only covered the head but also formed a short cape behind the shoulders. These he compares to exotics perhaps more familiar to his readers: "the caps or helmets of Egyptian heroes" or the "human heads on the monsters represented in Layard's Nineveh."[124] Taylor wants very much to conclude that the Taiping represent a positive alternative to the Qing: clean, earnest, confident, and inclined to Christianity, even if their scriptural understanding remained incomplete. They were exotic, but in a familiar way; more importantly, they had potential.

Clothes provide a metaphor for what Taylor saw (or wanted to see). He notes a Taiping commandant's simple clothes and determines that he could not possibly be a famous officer, renowned for "military sagacity and skill," because he lacks the "pompous display so common to Chinese officials." Only when the man's attendants "attired him in his official uniform" does Taylor finally believe that he is indeed the commandant.[125] His status is encoded in his uniform, his character made manifest by his preference for humble costume. All of this is interpreted, of course, through the lens of Taylor's heartfelt belief that the Taiping were what he most desired: an indigenous Christian movement that would advance the Protestant missionary agenda in China. Taylor's excitement for the Taiping cause (and their attire) typifies the enthusiasm of many of the early missionary encounters at Zhenjiang and Nanjing, and indeed a passion for the Taiping movement was often reflected in descriptions of their appearance and clothing.

Admirers noted the "noble" appearance of Taiping clothing and adornment, contrasting their appearance with that of the Qing and their allies. This vision of elegantly dressed Taiping soldiers transcending Chinese racial inferiority to embody a Chinese-Christian nationalist cause against their

Manchu overlords encodes several Anglo-American preoccupations of the period. Augustus Lindley, the foreign adventurer who famously allied himself with the Taiping, writes:

> One of the most remarkable contrasts between the Ti-pings and their enslaved countrymen and the first to attract the observation of foreigners is their complete difference of appearance and costume. The Chinese are known as a comparatively stupid-looking and badly-dressed race; the disfigurement of the shaved head not a little causing this.[126]

He continues in the same vein: the oppressed Chinese under the Imperialists possess an apathetic and vapid countenance, whereas the Taiping display intelligence, candor, and cleverness as well as a thirst for knowledge and capacity for martial endeavors. They are, in short, rather more like Europeans (under Lindley's florid pen, the Hunanese in the Taiping forces have eyes like those of an "Andalusian beauty"!) than they are like their erstwhile "enslaved" compatriots.[127] The Taiping are made even more attractive by their clothing, the elements of which are expounded on in detail by Lindley. He finds their hair to be "their major ornament." The forehead hair is left unshaven and the queue is retained, but bound up like a turban and tied with red thread and finished with a tassel. Lindley includes an illustration showing a neatly coiffed Taiping in contrast with a stubbly and frowning Imperialist. The features of the Taiping are, moreover, presented to maximize a sense of familiarity, care, and intelligence; even though it would appear that the two heads share identical physi-

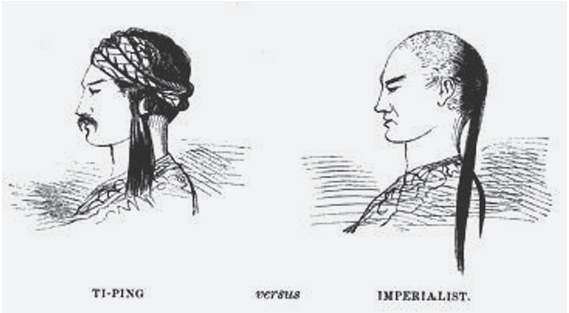


Figure 3.2. A comparison between Taiping and Qing hairstyles.

SOURCE: Augustus F. Lindley, *Ti-Ping Tien-Kwoh: The History of the Ti-Ping Revolution, Including a Narrative of the Author's Personal Adventures* (London: Day & Son, 1866), p. 80.

ognomy, the Taiping face is softened by a mustache and less prominent eyebrows. Even if Lindley finds the rank and file to be well-dressed and good-looking, he reserves special praise for the costume of the Taiping chiefs, finding their formal dress to be "magnificent," and writing that "it would be utterly impossible to imagine a more splendid and effective costume" than the gilt and jewel adorned crowns, embroidered robes, and fancy shoes worn by these noble men.[128]

In less enthusiastic accounts, precisely the same elements are made to read more ominously.[129] Rather than a magnificently disciplined diversity, an enclosure with a British diplomatic dispatch from 1854 criticizes the "motley appearance" of the gaudy clothing in "shewy colors" at Nanjing, even as the authors seem to be describing precisely the same attire as the more enthusiastic Taylor. Instead of heroic, these outfits and headdresses look foolish, and overgrown facial and forehead hair makes the Taiping men look ferocious and unkempt.[130] Lewin Bowring, a British civil servant mostly active in India who visited the Taiping capital in 1854, saw the Taiping troops as insufferably arrogant, disreputable, unkempt, and poorly dressed.[131] His account deliberately sought to undermine the assumptions that undergirded Taylor's, "the belief which had prevailed among many persons that a pure type of Christianity had sprung up in China."[132]

The Taiping conquest of Suzhou and Hangzhou in 1860 and 1861 evidently had an impact on the clothing worn in their capital at Nanjing. This impressed foreign visitors keen to learn more about the state of trade in commodities such as silk in areas under Taiping control and with an eye on Qing weakness in the aftermath of the allied occupation of Beijing and the sacking of the Summer Palace. Colorful silks and satins in the rebel capital signaled the rising power of the Taiping regime, and the impotence and corruption of the Qing. One observer wrote:

> What struck every one of us most at first was of course the tremendous heads of hair when we had been accustomed to see cleanly shaven pates. But next to that were the gaudy colours of the dresses of both men and women; being a striking contrast to the somber blue and grey of the inhabitants of the settled districts. These colours, and the textures of the silks and satins from which they shone, told tales of plunder and robbery—of fire and sword—of Suzhou and Hangzhou; they showed why the waters of the Grand Canal cease to be ploughed by deep-laden craft; why China requires to be fed with the rice of Siam; and they scented of a government become rotten.[133]

In a report from 1862, evidently aimed at undermining support for the Taiping regime back in England, China hand H. S. Parkes noted that not only were there many women present in the city, they were "comely" in their appearance and beautifully dressed in the finest silk. He attributed this to the "recent sack of Suzhou and other large cities" and the "absence of the men with the armies now in the field."[134] He notes that the quality and abundance of the clothing encountered in the Taiping capital was a direct result of looting in the Yangzi delta region. His description of clothing is part of a catalogue of Taiping shortcomings marshaled in the context of a British policy debate. Similarly, Lt. Col. G. J. Wolseley spent a week in the Taiping capital and concluded that whereas "eatables" were scarce, "all sorts of wearing apparel are to be had in abundance, having been obtained in immense quantities upon the capture of Suzhou, the great Chinese emporium of all such articles."[135] Wolseley also noted that all high-ranking officers of the Taiping court wore imperial yellow silk robes "fantastically embroidered with dragons, flowers, and other curious devices." The costume appeared to Wolseley to be in the Qing court style, with the exception of the headdress, which consisted of a yellow hood, topped with a "ridiculous-looking gilt cardboard tiara, cut into fantastic shapes, and ornamented sometimes with what struck me as badly executed artificial flowers, and sometimes with little figures of tigers."[136] What Lindley found inspirational, therefore, Wolseley found ridiculous.

In one of the most colorfully hostile accounts of the Taiping in the British consular archive, the British Consul at Ningbo, Frederick W. Harvey, emphasizes the carnivalesque quality of the Taiping movement and argues that costume was an important part of what made them weirdly horrifying to those they conquered. He argues that the Taiping terrified local populations by both their numbers and by

> the tawdry harlequin garb worn by them, and which (however incredible it may seem) has such a strange effect on the minds of all classes of people in this country. With us, the burlesque costume, and other ridiculous devices of the Taiping, would only tend to raise a smile; but I firmly believe that this dress, *per se*, has an effect the very reverse on the ignorant and somewhat primitive inhabitants of this country. . . . Their long, shaggy black hair again adds to the wildness of their look; and when this fantastical appearance is accompanied by a certain show of fury and wildness, it is really little to be wondered at if the mild Chinese, constituted as we know them to be, either take flight or submit tamely.[137]

In paragraphs rife with theatrical metaphor and racialist proclamations colored by snobbery, he calls the rebellion "ten years of rampant carousing," a "delusion," adding that

> I look in vain in the darkest ages for a similar faction and upheaving of men: but there is nothing in past records so dark or so bad; such abominations committed under the name of religion; such mock-heroic buffoonery; such horrors accompanied by pantaloonery; so much flimsy web worked in the midst of blood and highly tragical events.[138]

Thus, Harvey concluded, the Taiping were an abomination and an affront to Christianity. They had turned China upside down. Their deeds amounted to nothing more than theatrical flimflam and bad costumes, albeit with deadly consequences. There were, of course, other perspectives.

Signs

What could be more certain than writing, and what more solid than the human body? And yet in war, all such former certainties transformed into illusion. People were not what (or who) they seemed. Assurance was sought in bodily details that ostensibly provided identifying clues as to political allegiance and native place. And yet, appearing as one should provided no security, no assurance against atrocity—under either regime.

In retrospect, identities seem fixed. There were two sides to this war, or so we like to think: the Taiping and the Qing. But in the moment, as we have seen, interests and affiliations were not so clear. Who were the Taiping? They were men with hairy foreheads, (militant) women with unbound feet. Or were they? Not always, if we can trust our sources. And should we call the bandits and disbanded soldiers who allied with them Taiping, or should we, as Augustus Lindley did back then, and as Jen Yu-wen has done somewhat more recently, shield the reputation of the rebels by reserving the name Taiping for the noble revolutionaries from Guangxi? What of the captives, coerced into submission? Yu Zhi thought they should be spared—their allegiance to the rebels only tenuous; Zeng Guofan and his brother massacred them—the exigencies of total war commanded that innocents die for the misfortune of their coerced affinity.

If anything, the situation on the other side was even more complex. What we retrospectively term the Qing side was an agglomeration of competing interests that took shape against a perceived common enemy. They

all shaved their heads and paid lip service to Beijing. But tensions within the Qing camp were rife; many on the battlefield were contingent allies—and many of the writers retrospectively identified with the Qing cause by modern-day editors in fact had little love to lose for the dynasty. They professed loyalty; but they were bitterly critical and obviously disillusioned, as their memoirs and diaries poignantly testify.

The archives are filled with lies and half-truths, often told in service to petty controversies among officers and officials.[139] Foreign friends and enemies told their tales in service to their own more distant agendas: Christian conversion, parliamentary victories, and the trade in opium, tea, silk, and British manufactures. It is this confusion and contingency of allegiances that has fallen out of our understanding of a past long since reduced to a morality play of absolute identities and loyalties. The transformation of lived confusion into the absolute moral certainty of loyalty got under way immediately. Under the prevailing rhetoric of the time, war became rebellion, and the loyal dead became martyrs. But in the meantime, there literally were millions of corpses and heaps of unclaimed bones to bury in Jiangnan.

CHAPTER FOUR

Bones and Flesh

This chapter is about dead bodies—what they were understood to mean and how they were disposed of—under the terrifying circumstance of civil war and its aftermath.[1] More even than the epidemics and floods of the 1820s and 1830s, the massive scale and geographical spread of casualties associated with the Taiping War, whether from illness, starvation, suicide, or violence, raised troubling questions about the state of the polity, society, and cosmos. Recent scholarship on places as disparate as post–Civil War America, postwar Vietnam, seventeenth-century Korea, postgenocide Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia suggest how the bodies of the dead function as politically fraught and emotionally meaningful symbols in the aftermath of political crises.[2] In wartime Jiangnan, questions centered on disposing of the dead had both material and deeply political dimensions. Most concretely, where were the bodies put—and who arranged for them to be put there? What meanings did these corpses engender, and what kinds of description did they command? And conversely, what silences and blank spaces did the large numbers of dead occasion—what was suppressed, elided, deemed unspeakable? Whom did the dead belong to—in a world where death under certain circumstances, including war, entailed

imperial honors, and where the dead also had a place within family ritual and remembrance?

Customs for dealing with death in China, as elsewhere, have varied regionally and changed over time. In the late imperial period, there was general consensus that the dead were to be cared for.[3] Funerals and the rites that they entailed were understood as a crucial site for enacting the relationships considered essential to a properly functioning society, and thus an important topic for moral education.[4] At a minimum, there was an expectation that provision should be made for burial in a proper coffin, that the coffin would at some point be interred, and that families would make offerings of food, clothing, and other material comforts, conveyed to the underworld by way of fire.[5] Members of the educated elite might send reports on earthly happenings to their deceased parents, again to be transmitted by burning. Graves were to be cleaned and tended at least at Qingming, and often also on the Cold Food day (Yulanpen). In some regions, people practiced delayed interment, storing the coffin above ground until a suitable burial site could be acquired; in other places, reburial of bones after bodily decomposition was favored, in spite of official criticism. Buddhists, and those who could not afford burial, cremated their dead, again despite official and elite condemnation.[6]

The family, the dynasty, and the community all were understood to have a stake in proper disposal of the dead, and indeed, the handling of unclaimed corpses was an arena in which the interests of state, family, and local community at least in theory overlapped. The untended dead became hungry ghosts, potentially dangerous to human communities.[7] Burying the dead was therefore a powerful symbol of moral order, of a world and human relationships as they ought to be, and writers often counterposed descriptions of wartime or postwar burial with examples of wartime transgression and enemy atrocities in order to register their views on the world as it was (and ought not to be). Beyond this potent symbolism, during the war and in its immediate aftermath, there were many dead, and many of them were left unburied. The reality of bones, corpses, and death haunted the writings of survivors and eyewitnesses, even as the living invoked the dead for their metaphorical power. Diarist Jin Changfu references many of these conventional images in a pair of couplets from a poem that describes the devastation at Yangzhou, whose scenic sites he presents as inhabited by the hungry and the dead.

The bones of war sunk and buried below Horse Hill:
Summoned, they erupt into view amid a layer of white clouds.

Without emotion the Iron Buddha ought to shed some tears.
With spring rain on a freezing night, the ghosts respectfully accept a dish.

In distant wilderness we take turns racing a slow cart.
On Shu Ridge the grass grows long as the sun sets in the west.
Qingming and Cold Food Days [both commemorate the dead] have both passed us by.
Only a handful of households have noodles and rice to take to the graves.[8]

In another context, Jin Changfu recalled that "After the war, the piled corpses numbered in the tens of thousands. There were those who said that the ghosts could cause harm, but that by writing poems for them, they could be dispelled."[9]

As the preceding chapters have demonstrated, endemic warfare in the Jiangnan region afflicted the living. War, occupation, and long periods of stalemate undermined the business of daily life and ruptured the bonds that defined human community. These circumstances also rendered proper treatment of the dead impossible. As a result of violence, disease, starvation, and battle, men died like beasts and were devoured by them; dogs and wild pigs fed on the corpses that filled the roads and canals, violating the deep taboo against scattering bodily remains.[10] Cannibalism evidently troubled some communities, with human flesh reported to have been for sale in the markets of Changzhou, Anqing, Hangzhou, and elsewhere.[11] Such transactions were a lived reality, as well as a metaphor for social breakdown. Those bodies sold literally by the pound as flesh had become objects in market transactions, utterly anonymous and dehumanized. Stories of corpses whose features remained as they had been in life—or lost coffins and bodies restored to their bereaved families—offered a powerful countermessage of virtue, and the triumph of human relationships that transcended even death. By contrast, the bones that littered the landscape at war's end were unmarked, stripped of identifying features, and could thus be reclaimed on behalf of the dynasty and ritually reintegrated into the community. They became objects in a different set of transactions; repackaged as the loyal dead, their burial was a necessary prerequisite to restoring and reintegrating shattered communities.

From the vantage point of many among China's educated elites, the war posed a profound challenge to the moral order, not only because of Taiping religious iconoclasm but also because the scope and violence of the catastrophe suggested to many a deep, underlying sociopolitical—and

cosmological—affliction. Dead bodies provided empirical evidence of the government's political impotence and its failure to measure up to its own implicit promises of benevolent rule. The dead were symbols in standard discourses on disaster; at the same time, they also posed a material threat to, and problem for, the living. People believed there was a connection between corpses and epidemic disease, and they also saw dead bodies as troubling material objects that should, in normal circumstances, be removed from public view.[12]

The exposure of corpses and coffins to view was held to be unnatural and fundamentally destabilizing.[13] Corpses, when left visible, threatened by analogy the integrity of inner and outer, held in various contexts and forms to be essential to the stability of family and state.[14] The bodies of the dead, said to have been eaten by the starving or abandoned by dead or traumatized relatives, made manifest the moral collapse of war-torn communities. That armies were said to have desecrated coffins signaled their absolute alienation from moral norms; that self-proclaimed philanthropists were said to have buried coffins to prevent them from being put to use in constructing defensive installations highlighted their expanded role as the principal local upholders of moral norms.[15] Recovery and burial of lost bodies revealed the worth of the found dead and their families. And construction of cemeteries in which to bury and honor the unclaimed dead put an imprimatur of moral and political value—and closure—on violence that many at the time referred to as unspeakable or apocalyptic.

This chapter considers the meanings attached to the war dead through an examination of such related categories as cannibalism; corpses preserved, lost, and recovered; and charitable cemeteries that put the dead in their proper place and allowed the living to gesture toward a hoped-for restoration of the moral and political order.

Consuming Corpses

Part of the contemporary conventional wisdom about the war and its collateral damage in Jiangnan involved cannibalism. Faced with starvation and the simultaneous availability of corpses in their communities, people were said to have eaten human flesh, devouring (in extreme transgression) even their own relatives or deliberately selling corpses as meat in the marketplace.[16] Corpses, we are told by many authors, meant food, at least to the desperate, and in this form bodies circulated as an appalling commod-

ity, with one source offering price information for both human flesh and freshly killed human flesh.[17] Such accounts are rarely neutral; in nineteenth-century China as here and now, starvation cannibalism engendered revulsion; in most of the texts that I have looked at, ingesting human flesh as food (rather than medicine) is presented as a mark of social breakdown, and not, as in some martial arts literature or certain regional cultures, as a strategy for enhancing physical strength or utterly destroying an enemy.[18] There are tantalizing indications in the memoir literature that symbolic forms of cannibalism such as devouring the liver or heart or genitals of an enemy also occurred during the Taiping War, but the focus here is on starvation cannibalism.[19] The examples cited below reflect a phenomenon described by Donald Sutton: in late imperial China, the abhorrence against cannibalism was fundamentally social or moral—and contextual, embedded in the ritual and hierarchical structures that governed all human relationships.[20]

Clearly, discussions of cannibalism in late imperial China were deeply influenced by literary conventions and standard tropes from vernacular literature and moral treatises.[21] Whether depicted as stew cauldrons filled with floating fingers (the shape of the hand revealing the humanity of the flesh within), or as dumplings and cakes filled with eerily fragrant meat, or by the quotation of a price in copper cash, selling human flesh as food in the marketplace can be imagined as the antithesis of *gegu*, the practice whereby filial children cut their own flesh to feed to their senior relatives as medicine.[22] *Gegu* re-inscribed precisely those particularistic familial relationships obliterated when anonymous corpses were sold as meat in the market.[23] The authors who describe the trade in human flesh usually pass judgment on those who partook of this ghastly commerce and on circumstances that drove the starving to partake. They not only tell us what might have really happened to dead bodies in Jiangnan but also use cannibalism to signal how unusually evil the times were, and how desperate the populace.[24] Eating human flesh for food stood, symbolically, for the total breakdown of society. A world in which people ate people was one in which human beings—both those who ate and those who were eaten—ceased in some fundamental way to be human.[25]

Tears for Jiangnan, Yu Zhi's illustrated volume intended to inspire donations to support the region's refugees, includes a picture titled "Netting Sparrows and Trapping Mice: Competing to Sell Human Flesh" (Figure 4.1). The title speaks to a hunger that forced people to eat what was not usually



Figure 4.1. Netting Sparrows and Trapping Mice: Competing to Sell Human Flesh
SOURCE: Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu* (Suzhou: Yuanmiao guan ma'nao jingfang, n.d.), 30b–31a.

eaten, and indeed it alludes to the conventional first step on the trajectory to desperation cannibalism: from trapping vermin, to stripping grass and tree bark, to consuming human flesh.[26] The picture shows a storefront, featuring a large stewpot, lid lifted, as a man reaches forward with chopsticks, to suggest imminent consumption of its horrifying contents. Outside, a man weighs out flesh from one of several dismembered corpses in the road as another man with a large knife serves as butcher. They are preparing the bodies to sell as meat to a prosperous-looking customer with a child. The picture, clearly designed to maximize visual shock value, has elements in common with printed illustrations showing human flesh vendors from vernacular short stories.[27]

A lyric invocation accompanies the image. It reads, loosely translated:

> Oh how the clouds mourn and the moon grieves! Humanity is at war. How painful it is that people kill in order to feed themselves! The cruel sight of the knife and chopping block torments the eyes. It is said that the fox feels sorrow for the rabbit's death. In the end they both will become ghosts. The hungry people have little meat on their bones. How many stomachs can (their meat) fill?

The author then provides an account of seemingly specific instances and venues in which human flesh was eaten or sold as food; in 1862, he tells us, he had heard that people were eating each other in Yixing and Liyang. He had not fully believed it at the time. It seemed too awful, and too uncharacteristic of the "typically weak and gentle" people of Jiangnan. In 1863, he learned that people in Yanghu and Wuxi counties in Changzhou prefecture had special markets selling human flesh for food. This reprehensible occurrence was so extreme, he argues, that it should inspire good-hearted people to donate generously to the refugee cause.[28] Clearly, cannibalism figures here as impetus to action, in this case the kind of organized charitable action favored by the book's author. Dead bodies, butchered, sold, and eaten, figure here as a reminder of the appalling state of wartime society—and point explicitly to the need for moral action and charity in order to achieve both individual and collective rehabilitation or salvation in its aftermath. In the context of prevalent belief in reward and retribution, charity afforded a mechanism through which to offset collective wartime misdeeds including cannibalism and thereby effect a kind of insurance against inevitable future disasters.

Less obviously didactic references to cannibalism in Jiangnan from memoirs and other sources seem to suggest that the practice was a recognizable part of wartime experience in a former land of plenty. In some instances, references to cannibalism seem intended to highlight native place difference, and indeed several sources go out of their way to suggest that the people of Yixing had a particular affinity for consumption of human flesh, displacing the reprehensible practice onto others, elsewhere. Eating human flesh for survival, we are told by Shi Jianlie, originated in Yixing County and then spread to neighboring counties like Wuxi. According to Shi's account, just when the official forces attacked Yixing, those among the local people who fled began to eat each other along the road. At first, they ate the corpses of those who died on the road. Then they ate the ill and the elderly, and then they even ate those who had not yet died. When

they reached Wuxi, Shi says, they preferred to eat the people of their hometown.[29] Then the people of [Wuxi] also ate the Yixing people. It got to the point where low-life types sliced and chopped them into cubes and distributed them as food in the market falsely saying that it was lamb or beef. Similarly, an account from Changxing County in Zhejiang quotes a young relative, recently escaped from captivity among the rebels in nearby Yixing, who said that Yixing people were eating each other. The relative further reported that human flesh was for sale there for 50 copper cash per *jin*, and that the sick and dying were afraid to cry out because the meat renderers might come for them.[30]

These accounts reflect native-place prejudice, as well as the prevalence of rumors about cannibalism. The references to shops and prices would also seem to undermine the impression of utter chaos, since presumably market transactions required a modicum of order and trust, even when they were sites of deception and horror.[31]

Reports of cannibalism could serve material interests or reflect the nightmare of everyday life in wartime—or both. When Governor General Zeng Guofan mentions cannibalism in a memorial as part of a litany evoking the desperate state of local society, he does so in order to impel the court to take action: in this particular instance, to reduce the region's tax burden after the war's end.[32] When he refers to the rising price of human flesh sold for food in southern Anhui in his diary, he does so to record the growing desperation of the region's populace.[33] Zhang Guanglie, whose volume of essays and commemorative documents in memory of his mother we will examine in detail in Chapter Six, describes cannibalism in Hangzhou as part of the city's descent into starvation and despair. Human flesh is the worst of the many things unfit for human consumption that successively became foodstuffs as prices soared and a prosperous city slowly starved.[34] He writes:

> The people of Zhejiang by custom are decadent and their houses are tall and grand and they did not keep any grain at home. When the gates [of the city] were first closed [during the siege], the price of grain surged suddenly and many suffered from lack of food. When mother ran out of jewelry and hairpins to sell in exchange for food . . . things got worse and we competed with other city residents to scrape tree bark and grassroots to alleviate our hunger. There were those whose suffering was even worse, and they starved to death in the roads. Before they had breathed their last, the meat on their thighs was hacked away by other people.[35]

The trajectory he describes reminds us that food was a market commodity in Jiangnan, a region that had long been dependent on grain imported from other places. The people of Hangzhou were decadent insofar as they were confident that the market would function and that food would be available for purchase. But when nearby Shaoxing and Ningbo fell in October and November, there was only a very limited supply of food in Hangzhou. Efforts to bring grain from Shanghai failed. The problem was exacerbated by the presence in the city of some one hundred thousand additional troops and a large number of refugees from Shaoxing. According to some sources, the population within the walled city had swelled from six hundred thousand in normal times to 2.3 million during the siege.[36] When war disrupted transportation and commercial networks, people turned to whatever was available, including, in desperation, human flesh. Zhang assures his readers, however, that his family did not partake of or deal in this ominous meat, although their situation became increasingly dire and the meat renderer arrived, literally, on their doorstep.[37]

Passing references to cannibalism, some more credible than others, can be found in the chronological memoir of a small-time merchant and landowner from southern Jiangsu. Ke Wuchi writes that a place near Changzhou had been largely depopulated; there were no signs of human habitation, no smoke from the chimney fires.[38] The groves of trees planted near cemeteries were desecrated for their wood, with the older and thicker trees felled first. Robbers and bandits rooted through coffins, at first in search of valuables.[39] Eventually, no one dared to bury their dead; recently interred coffins were looted to find corpses to render for meat.[40] In nineteenth-century China, looting coffins was (in theory at least) nearly as appalling an offense as cannibalism; the idea that both occurred together must have been profoundly disturbing. Here, the reference to cannibalism evokes a world in which normal life cycle rituals such as burial could not be practiced and in which abnormal uses for the dead (and their property) had become commonplace. Horror prevails; the agents of cannibalism are impersonal (and dehumanized) forces terrorizing a dying community. This is a world without virtue, where there can be no distinction between the enemy and the self. Everyone, by Ke's account, is ultimately reduced to inhumanity.

Rumors figure prominently as both source and subject in memoir literature of this period. Authors often report (ostensibly verbatim) the rumors that brought news of the war into their communities and moral dilemmas

illustrated in hearsay, or they describe the panic that ensued when rumors told of imminent danger. In this context, rumors of cannibalism inspire anxiety or revulsion. Ke Wuchi reports that

> Someone even said: "A father and a daughter were about to die. The father said, "I want to cut you into pieces in order to eat you!" The daughter said, "Wait until I've stopped breathing and then it will be fine with me." The father then said, "If you won't stop (breathing), then I will have to stop you first!" So he cut her up while she was still alive.[41]

By repeating this rumored case of a father who killed and ate what we (in English) would describe as his own flesh and blood, Ke Wuchi offers an anonymous anecdote for our consideration. On the one hand, the father and daughter embody the total breakdown of *renlun*, or morally correct human relationships. In the absence of *renlun*, there can be no human community, no family, and no state, and parents might as well eat their children. On the other hand, in this case, the reluctant daughter sustains her father (rather than the other way around). The story thus retains the faintest echo of tales of children who concocted medicine out their own flesh to nourish their sickly parents. Still, the conversation exposes a moral and social dystopia, rather than recording a confirmable instance of cannibalism. The dispassionate (and frequent) references in other sources to the sale of human flesh for food suggest, however, that cannibalism was more than just a literary trope or a mark of moral degeneracy, even as it was both of these. It was also a symptom of truly desperate circumstances.

Perfected Bodies

In stark contrast to the anonymous corpses that littered the streets or were said to have been butchered for meat, we find bodies marked by virtue, or whose virtue facilitated return to their rightful communities and families. In a context where all distinctions of gender, status, political affiliation, and nationality were erased and bodies were dumped into mass graves, stories of individual corpses restored to their proper place asserted the power and significance of moral rectitude against the war's annihilation of socially salient difference.

Literary and gazetteer accounts from the postwar period are filled with references to dead bodies, particularly female bodies, which either did not decompose or did not enter a state of rigor mortis, or whose facial expres-

sions continued to look "exactly as they had in life." This linkage between perfect virtue and preserved flesh has its origins both in ancient practices of bodily preservation and in Buddhist accounts of the disposition of righteous monks after death, as well as in the vernacular fiction of the late imperial period.[42]

The notion that the corpses of ordinary people (particularly women) remained in a perfect state without decomposing seems to be an extension of the Qing state's intense emphasis on the extraordinary morality of ordinary people.[43] Bodies remained perfect because in life they had belonged to people of exceptional morality, who died resisting the Taiping troops or by suicide, and whose lives were thus particularly worthy of emulation. Likewise, we read (in various genres) of lost coffins and corpses that were miraculously restored to bereaved families and properly buried after the war.[44] Again, these families were reunited with their dead because the deceased or the families were exceptionally virtuous and worthy of emulation. The corpse, lost and found, or preserved in a state of impossible perfection, is a mechanism through which the worthy, alive or dead, could be identified, promoted, and publicly remembered. The values rewarded with a body's return or preservation were precisely those that made families eligible for state honors as exemplars of moral transformation or *jiaohua*, and indeed, a corpse's return or perfection might be used as evidence in applications for official honors and enshrinement. The corpse that did not decay literally embodied the orthodox, state-sanctioned values of chastity, filial piety, and loyalty that undergirded human society and became privileged forms of subjectivity (and subjecthood) particularly from the eighteenth century. By affirming the transcendent power of *renlun*, or particular (hierarchical and especially familial) human connections, preserved or returned bodies served as talismans against the war's dehumanizing chaos and destruction. These perfected bodies also represent the antithesis of rebel corpses, deliberately desecrated and decapitated as a mark of their permanent removal from human society.[45]

In his diary from 1863, Jin Changfu, a native of Yangzhou Prefecture, describes the death of one of his female relatives and offers a poetic tribute celebrating her virtue. When the Taiping occupied her home in 1859, she vowed to kill herself, but her husband forced her to flee to the Western Hills. Along the way, they suddenly encountered a band of rebels who took all of the women in their party prisoner. Separated from her husband, she and another woman ran away and hid in a shrine by the side of the road

where they hanged themselves. When the two women were found the next day, their corpses were "preserved as if they were alive." They were buried with their ancestors and thus symbolically returned to their proper place within the patriline. The poem re-narrates these same events, but with added emotional intensity and drama. The second stanza highlights the woman's frantic breathing, her tragic circumstances as a prisoner of the Taiping, how she rends her clothes and cries. We are reminded in verse of how her body is recovered from the shrine, the freshness of the corpse testifying to the purity of her virtue. Jin likens his relative's blood to text; in shedding it, she becomes worthy of inscription in metal and stone. She is flawless jade, he writes, using that most conventional symbol of purity, to be illuminated by written praise. In the end, not only is her body restored to the family, but her virtue also serves to guarantee the future examination success of her husband and son; her chastity and loyalty are ultimately requited with society's highest rewards.[46] Breathless intensity blends here with narrative convention and clichéd imagery.

Jin's "Brief Account of the Martyrdom of Mother Hong" also treats the miraculous preservation of a woman's corpse. Again, the language is dramatic. In the midst of crisis, the protagonist, Mr. Hong, a writer and family friend, suddenly remembers his filial obligations and returns home to his mother in Zhejiang. The drums of war are met with cries of terror, and although it is her birthday the Boddhisatva Guanyin does not intervene. The corpses accumulate, the town falls and then burns. Mr. Hong is carried off as a captive and returns home to find that his mother has committed suicide. The corpse appears as if alive, eyes and face undimmed. We are reminded that glorious martyrdom ensures literary, and perhaps physical, immortality. Jin ends his brief account by expressing hope that his text might be useful to genealogists and official historians—in short, to those responsible for curating and commemorating virtue, which is to say, the family and the state.[47] Like Ms. Jin, Mother Hong appears as an ideal type, generically related to the protagonists in countless biographies of exemplary women in Chinese literary and historical writing.

Women whose bodies transcended death or were returned to their families were understood as having been rewarded for chastity in life, whereas paternal bones restored to filial sons—and the bones of loyal officials recovered by their successors—were understood as an apt reward for those analogous virtues (filiality and loyalty). For example, we find the story of Shen Songyuan, a filial son and native of Renhe County, Hangzhou, in

the prefectural gazetteer. Shen was the devoted son of a *juren* who served as a magistrate in Guangxi. His father died in office, and his body could not be retrieved because of the war. Frustrated by his inability to collect his father's bones, and temporarily unable to travel to Guangxi because of his mother's illness, after his mother's death he finally journeyed to Guangxi, then still under rebel occupation. Upon arriving in the provincial capital, he was gravely injured in a rebel attack. On the verge of death, he cried out, "I have come to find my father's bones!" His palanquin bearer was moved to pursue the quest and engaged the sympathies of a fellow Zhejiang native. Hired helpers miraculously located Shen's father's grave outside the city wall, and the sympathetic *landsman* arranged for the coffins to be shipped back to Zhejiang.[48]

Zhang Guanglie offers similar stories about women from his family whose bodies were lost and recovered. He reports that the wife of one of his uncles was not only chaste but also lovely. On the day Hangzhou was attacked in 1861, she hanged herself with the sash of her clothes. By the time the enemy forces arrived, she had long since stopped breathing. A male relative placed her body in a leather trunk and hid it behind the wall of the house. After the city was recaptured, the relative returned home and found the trunk in the wall where he had left it. The community all said that her body remained intact and her corpse was not scattered because of her chastity and martyrdom.

Zhang also tells his readers about a cousin, Manjie, age fourteen, a girl who was somewhat unattractive by appearance but still maintained exceptional virtue and sincerity. In 1861, when the city fell, most of her family fled, but she resolutely hanged herself. Her father found her body and cried, his tears forming a torrent. He placed her corpse in a leather trunk and stored it behind the wall of the house alongside that of her aunt. When the rebels retreated and the family returned, her body too was found behind the wall of the house. She was reburied at Dragon Well Hill (Longjing shan) and was included as an adjunct honoree in the Zhejiang Shrine to Honor the Loyal and the Righteous.[49]

Again, the recovery of the body after death seems inevitably linked to the young woman's righteousness in life. Willingness to die rather than face violation, in accordance with state-sanctioned standards of comportment, serves as an absolute testament to these women's status as political and familial subjects. Their virtue shielded their corpses from desecration and restored them to their proper place in the family tomb and the martyrs' shrine.

The war exacerbated the challenges that sojourning typically posed to proper burial in one's native place, inspiring stories of heroic women and filial children who restored the coffins of husbands and parents to their hometowns. For example, Zeng Yong (1812–1862), a native of Huayang, Sichuan, served as a magistrate in Jiangxi in the late 1850s; after his county fell to the rebels, he advised Zeng Guofan in his campaigns in southern Anhui. He died of exhaustion and disease in Anhui during the struggle to capture nine counties and districts occupied by Taiping forces. His talented and intrepid wife, Zuo Xijia, traveled to Anhui to retrieve his remains in 1862, bringing them first to Jiangxi, and then accompanying the coffin back to Huayang by boat with her several young children in tow. By taking her husband's coffin back to Sichuan, Zuo Xijia heroically embodied the ideal of wifely devotion and fulfilled her filial responsibility to in-laws whom she had never before met.[50] Poetry and essays that contemporaries inscribed on the painting Zuo created to commemorate her experience suggest that her successful navigation of this hazardous journey through a war zone was nothing short of miraculous. That she retained possession of her husband's coffin in spite of violent weather, bandit attacks, and general mayhem affirmed both her virtue and her husband's in the eyes of her peers.[51]

Other stories of bodies miraculously recovered highlight the filial and loyal character of officials who sacrificed their lives to uphold the values ostensibly embodied by the dynasty in the conflict. Fang Yurun describes a virtuous official whose body was recovered after the Qing reoccupied Wuchang in Hubei province. Whereas all of the other bodies in the vicinity were decomposed and scattered, only the virtuous official's complexion and appearance were as they had been in life. This was, indeed, Fang tells us, testament to the preserving power of loyalty and rectitude.[52] In another story, even the rebels recognize the fundamental virtue of the protagonist: Yao Zuokai, a native of Lin'an, was devoted to his mother. When the rebels came, he carried her on his back and fled. She was sick and thought she might like to eat some meat. He went to a village to buy some to bring back to her. On the way, he was captured by the rebels and taken back to their encampment. He explained to his captors that he was trying to take meat to his mother, and they understood and set him free. He gave her the meat, but her illness was serious and she died. Because of the war he was unable to bury her properly, and so he composed some writings in blood on silk in her honor.[53]

Jailor Lin, a lowly functionary serving in the Renhe County government in the city of Hangzhou, is transformed, posthumously, into a heroic martyr for the Qing cause. The condition of his corpse figures prominently in the story of his death, and it should be understood as an obvious corollary of his moral rectitude. He is the ideal son and model official; thus he is posthumously transmogrified into the perfect corpse. The perfect behavior of his womenfolk, signified by their hanging bodies, serves as a necessary corollary—or essential counterpart—inevitably enhancing his standing as a righteous man.

The major elements in his story are as follows: Hangzhou fell to the Taiping in 1860, and sure of his impending death, Jailor Lin begged his father to take his children and flee, so they would be able to carry on the ancestral rituals. When his father refused to leave, he begged him to hide behind the walls of the jail. Returning to the *yamen*, he found that his mother, his wife, two elder sisters, and oldest daughter had all (tragically, but correctly) hanged themselves. He fell to the floor, stricken with grief; collecting his dignity, he proceeded to his office, where he lined up the seals, symbolic of his service, drank a draught of wine, and inscribed his loyal sentiments on the wall in large characters.[54] When the enemy arrived, he cursed them. Praising him as a (rare) loyal official (in marked contrast to his superiors), they left without killing him.[55] A second group arrived, piled up the corpses, and searched for money; finding none, they decapitated Lin—and his headless body remained upright in his seat of office. His father came out of hiding, ordered the servants to bury the family dead, and then died himself. The eldest son petitioned for official honors, joined the resistance against the occupying rebels, and died fighting the Taiping. The second son died when Hangzhou fell again in 1861. The younger children were raised by their maternal relatives and were lost to the Lin patriline. In official terms, his family line was wiped out; the Lins who died as Lins gave their lives for the dynasty and ought to be honored as the dynasty's dead.

In 1866, when the jailor's offices were renovated after the war, construction workers found six dead bodies; one, still looking much as he had in life, was wearing an official gown, his head beside his neck. The workers grew frightened. A decapitated corpse was presumed to be malevolent; they were reassured by an old retainer who recognized Jailor Lin. The story of the loyal body rightfully recovered inspired postwar officials and the local gentry to donate money to build a shrine and erect a tablet in his memory. The tablet celebrated the spirit of self-sacrifice that caused his entire family to die for

the dynasty.[56] The director of a local academy was moved by the story and asked students to write inscriptions for the stele as an essay assignment.[57] The provincial governor, Ma Xinyi, petitioned the court to include him in the spring and autumn honoring the dynasty's dead. His corpse, perfect and recognizable, in spite of decapitation, should be read as physical evidence of his worthiness. The act of reburial, on a hill overlooking West Lake in Hangzhou, the most prestigious site in the local landscape, reinvented a lowly jailor as an icon of official rectitude, at a moment when such icons were desperately needed.

Textual and ritual recognition of Lin provided formal resolution, putting him to rest and ostensibly assuaging the anger and sorrow of his troubled soul. It also by extension asserted the rightness and rectitude of the dynasty's representatives, at all levels, even as accounts of official venality and cowardice were common knowledge. By elevating the lowly jailor to an exemplar of official loyalty and righteousness, his advocates honored the dynasty, while also surely intimating the absence of such virtues among many of his superiors.[58]

Scattered Bones and Unclaimed Corpses

Contemporary descriptions, by both Chinese and westerners, depict a war-torn landscape littered with dead bodies.[59] Many contemporary sources, both Chinese and western, describe the horror of walking on corpses, or boating through waters clogged with dead bodies. The standard Chinese image, a trope of ancient provenance, and an image widely invoked to describe nineteenth-century experience, is one of skeletons and corpses heaped among overgrown vegetation. These bleached bones and unclaimed corpses (literally masterless corpses, wu zhu shihai) were understood on the one hand as a barometer of social disorder; they were on the other hand also seen as a potential threat to the social order. In a well-governed realm, the bodies of the dead should be both unseen and well cared for. Left untended, or worse, violated by wild animals and grave robbers, the dead would become malevolent ghosts, dangerous to living communities.[60] As Stephen Owen has noted, "bones without a commemorative marker represent a loss of identity, of one's place in time, and of the family, whose purpose was to preserve the memory. Bones are timeless, anonymous, and without kin."[61]

In a time of mass death, scattered bones were a constant reminder of loss and failure. Denied their fundamental right to ritual commemoration

and thus their place in both *patria* and patriline, these bones were utterly dehumanized—and seemed inevitably to mock the family and state that had forsaken them.[62] For these reasons, the presence of exposed corpses was a source of public anxiety and an impetus to action by those in charge, broadly defined. And indeed (as we shall see in the next section), by burying the dead, local philanthropic organizations seem to have symbolically substituted themselves not only for the families of the deceased but also for the dynasty, which had formerly claimed a central role in taking care of its war dead.[63]

The memoir of Xu Feng'en, an official's secretary from Tongcheng, Anhui, who was working for the vice prefect in Hangzhou when the city was attacked by the Taiping in 1860, reports that he heard the crowds of rebels crying out that the demons (i.e., Qing officials and their followers) should be massacred as they raped local women and assaulted fleeing refugees, sparing those who handed over their cash, and killing at one stroke those who had no cash to hand over.[64] He recalls seeing the rebels burning houses outside the city wall and reports that the light from the fires illuminated the night sky, rendering it as bright as day. He observes that the city's streets were clogged with dead bodies, writing that

> at every intersection the dead bodies were piled up as high as mountains. Everywhere you looked, with every third step you had to jump over a corpse in order to pass. Reaching Taiping Gate, the area inside the gate was completely filled with dead bodies. There was not even a small crack of space. The only way out was to imitate a moving corpse and to hunch over stepping to the left and right.[65]

Here, the narrator is shown living like a corpse among the anonymous dead. He continues, describing his passage eastward toward the Qingtai Gate, where he found that this neighborhood, too, was littered with broken and mangled corpses. With geographic specificity and graphic description, Hangzhou becomes a city of death. Dealing with the dead apparently became part of Xu's work as the vice prefect's secretary. His (carefully crafted) account reports that he helped to bury these generalized heaps of nameless and unclaimed bodies. By contrast, the lost corpse of the singular lady poet who had lived next door, and with whom he and the vice prefect had pleasantly exchanged verses, serves as an emblem of a time marked by personal and civilized connections, gone forever. She died violently, cut down in the heroic act of mocking the rebels. And her remains were never found.[66]

For many observers, the anonymous piles of unclaimed corpses and scattered bones they encountered in the Jiangnan region figured prominently within a constellation of images and experiences that epitomized the horror of war and the desolation that lingered after. One writer recalled a journey through Anhui, writing that with every step his feet touched corpses, and that they were still warm; having come to this, he figured, human beings were truly no better than insects.[67] He described seeing dead "Long Hairs," stripped of their clothing and decapitated, lying on the road, killed, he thought, by the local peasants.[68] In a letter published in the *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle* in 1860, the Reverend Griffith John described a grim night traveling by boat "through heaps of bodies in an advanced state of decomposition."[69]

The dead offered a silent indictment of the war and its prosecutors. In his memoir, *A Record of Pondering Pain*, Li Gui, who lived for an extended period as a captive among the Taiping, recalled a house filled with corpses; the dead left no place for the living to sleep.[70] He also described the ruins of a large village:

> By the river were a hundred large trees, and beneath each tree were one or two bodies bound to the trunk. The bodies were scorched black and were not in one piece and the trees themselves were without leaves. Here rebel and government troops had tried unsuccessfully to extort [valuables] from captives, then tied them to the trees and set fire to them. The cruelty had reached this extent.[71]

For Li Gui, the corpses provide wordless testament to the atrocities that both sides visited upon the people of Jiangnan. The dead were abused, even desecrated, their posthumous humanity denied through acts of dismemberment and wanton destruction. Such memories of wartime violence raised troubling questions about the postwar veneration of the dynasty as object of loyalty, and the attendant—and insistent—history of a just war to suppress the rebels and reconquer Jiangnan.

In addition to anxiety about unburied corpses becoming vengeful ghosts, contemporary sources also suggest concern about contagious disease. Writing to his younger brother, Zeng Guoquan (1824–1890), who was then laying siege to the important Taiping-occupied city of Anqing, in 1861, Hung Army general Zeng Guofan noted with concern,

> you have killed a lot of people. The stench in the oppressive heat will produce vapors that will, I fear, easily transmit disease. You should take the rebels' corpses and come up with a way to bury them, or put them on old boats to be carried away on the river. How would that be?[72]

Writing a week later, still concerned about the stink of the corpses, Zeng Guofan suggests to his brother that he might try to burn some dried rhubarb, a common medicinal and an ingredient in incense, to alleviate the odor and thus minimize the risk of contagion.[73]

In the case of civilian dead, untended bones and bodies also signaled the innocent helplessness of the war's victims and the moral and physical challenges that faced survivors. According to Li Gui, the corpses of those captives too weak to keep up with a forced march across southern Jiangsu were left by the side of the road, cut down where they had squatted for a quick rest. Those who tried to escape by jumping into the region's abundant waterways were stabbed or shot; not even one in a hundred survived. The water turned red as a result.[74] On another occasion, Li realized to his horror that he had stepped, with his bare foot, through the chest of one of the putrefying corpses that littered the muddy ground—and that if he were not able to remain upright and was trampled or angered the rebel in front of him and was killed, he would be transformed into a rotting corpse himself.[75]

In his *Record of 1861*, discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six, Zhang Guanglie recalls the untended corpses that littered Hangzhou's streets and lanes as an important feature of his wartime experience. He notes, for example, that when his family returned to Hangzhou after the city was occupied briefly by the Taiping in 1860, they found that "corpses lined the road and blood flowed everywhere."[76] Wandering in eastern Zhejiang after his mother's death, he and the servant who was caring for him hid "among thickets of corpses."[77] Here, the dead afford unlikely protection for the exhausted and traumatized boy and his nurse. In a poem, Jin Changfu posits that those who could bear to see the roads filled with dead babies and children were even more pitiable than those who had fled; the sight of these small corpses should, under normal circumstances, have been unbearable, and those who had become inured, pathetic.[78]

Zeng Guofan, simultaneously general of the Hunan Army and governor-general of Liangjiang, wrote of the desolation in Southern Anhui province, referring to the scattering of bones in a report submitted to the throne in 1863:

> From Chizhou down [river], the refugees from both sides of the river have all fled and are living on small islands in the Yangzi. . . .The strong ones have been taken away, the old and young lead each other along; having dug up all of the grass and roots, the people are reduced to eating the flesh of their relatives. The wind and rain cry out mournfully, the dead bodies are piled on top of each other. . . .In jurisdictions including Huizhou, Chizhou,

> and Ningguo, one finds only yellow reeds and white bones; an entire day might pass without seeing a single living person.[79]

Here, Zeng draws on conventional disaster imagery in order to describe the extent of the catastrophe in the ruined province. Again, we find the eating of relatives as an indicator of ruptured bonds. Heaped corpses exposed to the wailing elements represent a betrayal of the natural and moral order. The yellow reeds evoke graveyards and death—serving as a metonym for the dead, as do the white bones with which they are paired. Almost precisely the same imagery appears in another memorial from the following year, this one requesting tax relief for Northern Anhui.[80] And yet, with this clichéd imagery, Zeng seeks to highlight the exceptional and unspeakable nature of the catastrophe. In his memorial, the bones of the dead function as emblems of total desolation and the need for extraordinary measures, such as tax relief, on the part of the dynasty, to ensure that the living and the land return to agricultural production.

Accounts written by foreigners inevitably testify to the large numbers of dead bodies they saw in the course of their travels in Jiangnan. Most describe an overgrown landscape littered with bones and waterways clogged with corpses. For example, a member of the British consular staff who traveled between Shanghai and Nanjing in March 1861 observed:

> The same sad story everywhere suggested itself. Devastation marked our journey. The land on either bank [of the Grand Canal] was waste to the distance of a mile from the bank, while the towing-path, which is also the grand rebel highway, was like an upturned churchyard. Human remains were lying about in all directions . . . and if the towing path yet shows the signs of slaughter, the waters of the canal conceal the remains of by far the greater number of victims.[81]

A letter from the Reverend Griffith John to the London Mission Society describes the route from Shanghai to Suzhou in the summer of 1860 as follows:

> The towns and villages presented a very sad spectacle. These once flourishing marts are entirely deserted, and thousands of houses are burnt down to the ground. Here and there a solitary old man or old woman may be seen moving slowly and trembling among the ruins, musing and weeping over the terrible desolation that reigns around. Together with such scenes, the number of dead bodies that continually met the eye were indescribably sickening to the heart.[82]

The letter continues, reminding readers that "it must not be forgotten, however," that much of the burning and destruction had been wrought by the Qing side, and that what damage had been done by the rebels was in self defense, or could be attributed to recent recruits rather than veteran God-Worshippers from Guangxi. The dead, John informed his readers in London, were mostly suicides, rather than war victims, and thus, in spite of their piteousness, presumably less deserving of Christian sympathy. The account, while highlighting destruction—and the pathos that it engendered—ultimately shifts emphasis to suggest imperial culpability and rebel innocence, projecting the political and religious sympathies of this particular traveler onto the devastated landscape he encountered.

Many foreigners commented especially on the large number of suicides by drowning, many of whom were women. For example, one missionary eyewitness based in Zhejiang wrote:

> I have seen myself many ponds in Sanpo which had been filled not long before with the bodies of women who had flung themselves in and drowned themselves as the only hope of escape. In Hangchow from 50,000–70,000 are said to have perished in one week; and a large number of these by suicide.[83]

A visitor to Taiping-occupied territory in 1860 observed hundreds of corpses exposed to view in the outskirts of Suzhou; "a part of them were soldiers who had been killed, but a large portion—perhaps the larger portion—had in their infatuation drowned themselves as the Chinese frequently do in time of panic."[84] An early-twentieth-century guidebook, written by the American vice consul at Hangzhou and published approximately four decades after the end of the war, notes that the city's main shopping street, once bustling with "splendid rows of magnificent shops," had been reduced in 1861 to a "long stretch of charred *debris*, among which were the mangled remains of thousands of men, women, and children."[85] The same book describes the corpses that clogged city's waterways:

> The canals were so full of the bodies of those who had committed suicide during the first few days of the reign of terror that those later wishing to end their existence could not find sufficient water in which to drown themselves. Terror-stricken, the people rushed out of the western gates and threw themselves into West Lake [such] that "one could walk out into the lake for a distance of half a *li* on dead bodies."[86]

This focus on mass suicide by drowning describes what seems to have been a very real phenomenon while at the same time also highlighting the consequences of violence within what these foreign writers understood as a peculiarly Chinese moral system (and its disproportionate impact on women). To a nineteenth-century Chinese observer, such suicides were meant to be read as an expression of collective virtue, the fulfillment of an obligation entailed by fundamental human relationships and thus an act worthy of commemoration and official honors. To a western reader of that era, they suggested the inscrutable morality of an alien race.

Some foreigners read the ruined landscape through a set of conventions and images similar to those engaged by their Chinese counterparts, although in service to a different set of questions and thus perhaps without the same emotional resonance and power. These were not, after all, their home communities that lay in smoldering ruins. Joseph Edkins, a British missionary, who traveled to Nanjing to visit one of the Taiping leaders, Hong Ren'gan, in 1861, describes the road to Wuxi in Jiangsu Province, which was then under Taiping occupation:

> The road to Wusih wears the same desolate appearance. Lands lie untilled for half-a-mile on each side, and long grass has taken the place of rice and other crops. No one gathers up the human bones, which here and there are scattered on the roadside. They have been bleaching in the sun for months, and as many more will pass before some charitable person will bury them.[87]

Again, as in the passage by Zeng Guofan, overgrown grasses signal a ruined landscape and the failure of agriculture. Scattered bones suggest the absence of human community and abject destruction. The dead, anonymous and depersonalized, are stripped literally to the bones. In many cases, they were not identifiable as Qing subjects or Taiping adherents. They were no longer even precisely human; they were beyond recognition even by their relatives. They had become, in effect, features marking the Jiangnan region as a land of the dead. Or China as a wasteland, ungoverned (perhaps ungovernable?) and Other.

Burying the Bones

During the war, people tried their best to adhere to the ritual and material norms for proper burial of the dead, but there were many challenges. The Taiping regime mandated that corpses be buried wrapped only in cloth

blankets or mats; in an abrogation of prevailing customs, coffins were not to be used in areas under their control.[88] Funerals might be held in secret, the dead searched for and buried surreptitiously.[89] After the county seat of Tongcheng, Anhui, fell to the rebels in 1853, the occupying forces had all of the dead bodies collected and dumped into the uncultivated wastes outside the city wall. In response, representatives of powerful lineages furtively searched for family members and arranged for burial. A man from a nearby village provided coffins as a merit-generating act, and after three solid days of collecting bones he had buried thirty-five hundred people—young, old, women, and children.[90] In other cases, burial was a pragmatic necessity. In the heat of summer, there was a practical need to clear corpses out of spaces that occupiers thought to use for their own purposes. Li Gui recalled how his Taiping captors forced their captives first to remove the dead from the Confucian School that they wanted to use as a residence and then from the streets and alleys more generally. The dead included those killed when the Taiping occupied the walled city of Jintan and those murdered by Qing forces before they arrived; those on the grounds of the Confucian School were dumped into a pond, which was then filled in. Those scattered in the city were to be taken to a distant place for interment in a mass grave.[91]

Under such circumstances, ritual seems to have been out of the question, at least in the short run. Individuals who honored the dead by burying them with appropriate ritual were understood to have upheld orthodox values, as well as accumulating merit. This standard even applied to the dynasty's enemies. The Taiping Loyal King, Li Xiucheng, honored at least some of his enemies by providing them with a proper burial. For example, he looked for and buried the corpse of the Qing commander, Zhang Guoliang, who had drowned at Danyang.[92] This and other magnanimous acts contributed to his reputation as a righteous rebel.

Ideally, the dead ought to be identified, in order that they might be returned to their families. According to standard practice, relatives used a coroners' test to identify their dead, allowing a drop of their own blood to fall on the unidentified bones. If the blood were absorbed by the bones, it confirmed that the bones belonged to a close relative.[93] Others were identified by personal or bodily markers—unusual features or possessions or by the clothes they wore. One man, sent off to join the militia in felt socks provided by a grandmother concerned that his feet might suffer in the cold, was found, dead, when someone recognized the socks. Another man,

burned beyond recognition, was found and covertly buried by a friend who recognized a surviving scrap of fabric as a piece of his vest.[94] In many places, including Jintan, bones littered the streets, as dense as shrubbery, for years; only much later were resources mustered to remove them from public view, and then the most likely destination was one of the county's many mass graves. Indeed, in Jintan the devastation was so profound that the project of burying the dead lasted for more than a decade.[95]

Delayed burial was widely practiced in Jiangnan. A coffin might be kept above ground while awaiting the purchase of a geomantically appropriate (or affordable) grave site—or if the deceased was a sojourner, repatriation to his or her native district. Many accounts cite the particular vulnerability of coffins awaiting burial as a mark of the disordered times, and many bodies were lost in the chaos.[96] In the absence of a corpse, a wooden box marked with the name and dates of the dead might be substituted and placed in a tomb. Mass death required mass graves, and the confusion of the times forced the mixing of the remains of the "noble and the mean," "sages and fools" (which can perhaps be read as Qing loyalists and Taiping forces) in the same tombs even, or perhaps especially, once their identities had been effaced by decomposition.[97] Communal exhaustion and lack of resources generally overwhelmed, in the short run, the deeply felt need for rituals to honor the dead.

At minimum, faced with accumulated corpses numbering in the tens or even hundreds of thousands, some communities sought to maintain posthumous separation between unrelated men and women.[98] The gender of unclaimed bones could not always be determined reliably, although coroners' manuals of the period routinely repeated the idea that the sex of a corpse could be determined by the color of the bones: white for men, dark for women.[99] Moreover, the imperative to remove corpses from public view often overrode this concern for propriety. During wartime suspension of ritual norms, and often wholesale abandonment of the dead, were the inevitable consequence of violence, starvation, and epidemic disease on so large a scale. Moreover, as civilian populations fled their homes, seeking refuge in the countryside or in Shanghai, few were left behind to take responsibility for tending the dead. In Hangzhou, at Genshan Sluice, boatmen were said to have carried the dead out of the city by canal and dumped them along the waterway, covering the corpses with a bit of dirt.[100] When the county seat of Yining, Jiangxi, fell to the Taiping forces after three weeks of intense fighting, it was said that the river ran red and could not be navi-

gated for all of the corpses. The bodies were burned and disposed of in a mass grave, which was subsequently given the name "Tomb of the Hundred Thousand."[101]

In normal times, families with the means to do so buried their own dead, venerating them and providing for them as ancestors. A son's failure to provide for his parents' posthumous needs represented a major violation of moral, and in some cases legal, norms. The imperial government and its local officers also had a role to play in burying the dead. The seventeenth-century author of a manual for magistrates that was broadly consulted through the end of the dynasty observed that "a kind-hearted magistrate will not feel comfortable when there are exposed bones in his jurisdiction," reminding his fellow officials of their moral obligation to establish charitable cemeteries to accommodate the indigent, the transient, and victims of disasters such as the plague.[102] The ruler's obligation to rule benevolently extended even to the dead; according to classical antecedent, the dynasty ought to ensure that the dead were not left untended and the presence of unburied dead pointed to dynastic failure.[103] That imperial forces were said to have desecrated a cemetery to build a garrison on a hilltop in the outskirts of Changxing, Zhejiang, represented an appalling abrogation of responsibility and raised troubling questions about the dynasty's fitness to rule.[104]

Postwar attention to proper disposal of dead bodies afforded an opportunity to compensate for widespread—and broadly noticed—official dereliction of such duties during wartime. The magistrate or provincial governor who oversaw disposition of tens of thousands of abandoned corpses in his district after the war appears, seemingly as a stock figure, in many accounts, a synecdoche for the return of proper governance.

In postwar essays describing the state of local society, the pathos of heaped corpses and skeletons highlights the heroism and magnanimity of the region's ostensible saviors and afforded the opportunity for additional acts of rectification and righteousness by men who were in many cases themselves responsible for death and destruction. "Liberators" acting on behalf of the dynasty were said to have encountered ghostlike people, "begging for food, crying and howling," and they found "skeletons piled up covering the ground within and beyond the city walls."[105] That the dead inevitably included Taiping sympathizers and civilians killed when territory was retaken for the Qing represented an unspoken and unspeakable truth. By burying the dead, or by conferring legitimacy on those local actors who did, officials professed their benevolence and commitment to restoring

order. They conveniently repressed or elided the role played by government forces in perpetrating violence and disorder. In places such as Hangzhou, the dynasty and its allies implicitly promised a redemptive reintegration by magnanimously (and preemptively) declaring the bones to be loyal subjects of the dynasty. They did so in collusion with local elites, who in such cases might petition to have the provincial officials submit memorials to the emperor requesting that new cemeteries be made eligible for official rites in spring and autumn and thus that the community would receive an imprimatur of loyalty and legitimacy (and reciprocally, the dynasty would thus receive loyalty and legitimacy from the community).[106] Imperial rites, argued the author of one stele inscription, would requite the ghosts so that they would have nothing more to ask from their sons and lineages. Proper burial and ritual remembrance for the dead would, he intones, bring prosperity and an end to disaster and catastrophe and war.[107]

Reconstruction, literal and symbolic, could not take place until bones and corpses were removed from the streets, alleys, ditches, canals, and fields. As they recaptured the Jiangnan region piece by piece, the leaders of the Hunan and Anhui Armies confronted the challenge posed by white bones, "scattered everywhere like forests, blocking the roads and obstructing the alleys," in their dual role as both military occupiers and civilian administrators.[108] That Generals Zuo Zongtang and Jiang Yifeng were "deeply troubled" by the presence of so many untended dead appears repeatedly in the Hangzhou materials, even though their forces were responsible for many of the deaths.[109] Charged with reconstructing the provincial capital, Zuo Zongtang's right-hand man, Hu Guangyong, organized workers to gather unclaimed corpses, for whom he provided coffins, and had them collect the scattered bones for burial in fifty-seven tombs located on two hills overlooking West Lake.[110] Similarly, workers hired with donations raised from "officials, gentry, and commoners," evidently were paid for their labors by the pound, as they were compensated for gathering 6,426 pounds (*jin*) of bones from along the road between Fuyang and Hangzhou, which were then buried at Tianchi Temple, the site of a mass grave.[111] The quantity of bones gathered for burial at the other mass graves is not indicated but can be assumed, on the basis of their size, to have been at least as large.

In the decades after the reconquest, the area around the provincial capital at Hangzhou became a commemorative landscape, marked by dozens of new cemeteries and thousands of tombs to accommodate the war dead.[112] The provincial government requested tax exemptions for all of these burial sites

on behalf of the local elites, carefully documenting the size of sites to be so designated; the court approved the request. The illustrations in Sun Shuli's *Record of the Martyrs' Cemeteries* (Yilie mu lu) show orderly (and quantifiable) rows of neat and well-tended tombs surrounded in most cases by stone walls in idealized renderings of commemoration and closure (Figure 4.2). Bun-like tombs, surrounded by greenery and legitimated through ritual and inscriptions, represent the symbolic antithesis of scattered bones.[113]

Records of proper burial and commemorative rituals highlighted the professed contrast between past enemy atrocities and the present restoration of an (elusive and illusory) imperial order courtesy of provincial authori-

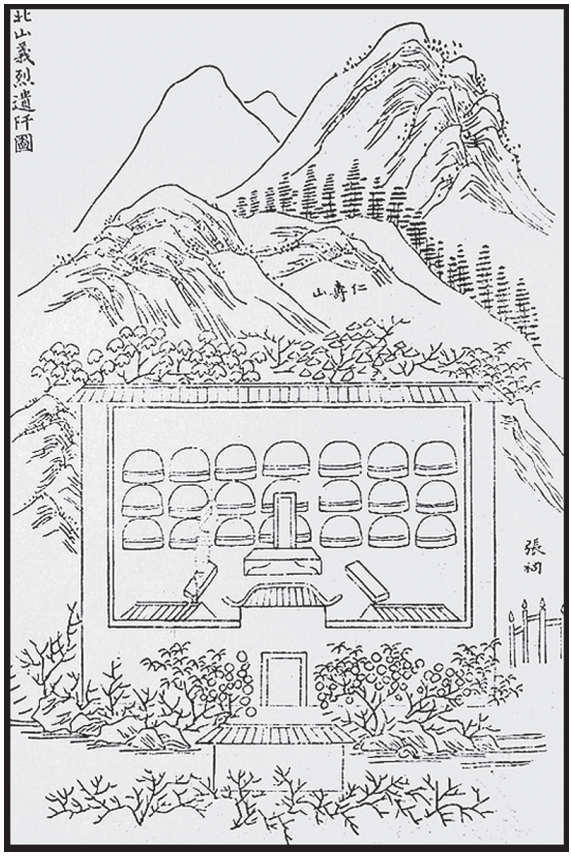


Figure 4.2. The Martyrs' Cemetery at North Hill, Hangzhou

SOURCE: Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu" (A record of the martyrs' cemeteries), in Ding Bing, Gengxin qi Hang lu (Weeping for Hangzhou, 1860 and 1861) 5:2a.

ties and local elites. We see this contrast, for example, in a stele inscription erected to mark the shrine and tombs at Fountain Hill Cave (Quanshan dong) as the site of exceptional local resistance, rebel brutality, and imperial favor. According to postwar accounts, when the rebels laid siege to the provincial capital at Hangzhou, many residents sought refuge in a large cave near White Sands Village (Baisha cun). A low-level degree holder (by purchase) organized the cave dwellers into a militia and fought against the rebels who by then occupied the city. The rebels blocked the exit, placed firewood around the mouth of the cave, and ignited it, thereby killing three thousand men, women, and children.[114] In 1868, an imperial edict declared this site eligible for ritual honors. The focus on rebel violence masks the obvious and unfortunate truth that the regime and its supporters were also guilty of comparable wartime atrocities.

Although untended bones in areas occupied by imperial forces were eventually re-inscribed as loyal subjects entitled to full ritual honors, known Taiping remains were in many cases unceremoniously dumped into unmarked graves or left by the roadside. In Suzhou, the corpses of more than ten thousand Taiping troops massacred by Qing forces at the Temple of the Twin Towers (Shuangta si) in 1863 were buried at Zhuangxian Bend. This burial ground was also called the Trench of a Thousand Men (Qian ren keng), probably reflecting official antipathy toward the bodies it housed.[115] Rebel remains were treated as objects to be cleared, a problem to be dealt with like damaged buildings. When Wuxi was first recaptured by the Qing forces, a local bureau assembled workers to remove Taiping corpses and other detritus from the roadways and to repair buildings. Although the Qing officers proclaimed removal of rebel corpses a top priority, they carried off the workmen to serve in the army, which interfered with the cleanup.[116]

The local and official agents of reconstruction were intent on raising monuments to an imperial "truth" literally over the bodies of the dead. An essay titled "A Record of the Strange Circumstances under which the Bronze Buddha was Pulled from the Well," tells the story of two nameless martyrs, a man and a woman, whose bones were discovered by the salt commissioner sent to Jintan by an official at Shanghai. His mission: to collect and bury the bones in Jintan, a community evidently too shattered to do the work for itself. In the course of his labors, the salt commissioner interviewed a migrant worker from north of the river who explained that he discovered two skeletons and a bronze Buddha in the local well after having had a strange dream.

The salt commissioner and the author, who had met through the introduction of their mutual friend, the philanthropist Yu Zhi (whom the author identifies as the symbolic patron of his essay and its message), considered the bronze Buddha and the magical circumstances under which the bones had been recovered as an auspicious testament to the possibility of dynastic reconstruction and a brighter future. Accordingly, they erected a stele categorically identifying the site as "the tomb of an anonymous righteous man and chaste woman who honored the Bronze Buddha before giving their lives in the well inside the Danyang Gate at Jintan."[117]

That celebratory edifices honoring the loyal dead, whether constructed in text, stone, or wood, were exceedingly fragile is underscored by contradictions and irregularities in requests for official honors, such as that for the "Five Men's Tomb" (Wu ren mu) at Hangzhou, a case in which the prefectural magistrate, provincial governor, and the Benevolence Association pursued imperial recognition for the "Five Men" buried at "Five Men's Tomb" on the basis of rumors of unknown accuracy about how they had surrendered to the rebels and were killed by them—and were thus, conceivably (but not necessarily) double agents working for the Qing.[118]

Stripped of their identities and thus seemingly beyond the bounds of ordinary human society, the bones "of the starving, the massacred, and those who died in hundreds of battles" were in effect a blank surface onto which an account of dynastic benevolence and restored community could be inscribed, or more tenuously, projected.[119] These bones also framed an arena in which dynasty, provincial officials, and local charitable organizations alternately cooperated and competed for local influence. Local activists proved willing and experienced managers in the burial project and recorded their participation in detail, marking connections to officialdom, enumerating donations, naming donors, and asking in exchange for recognition on behalf of the civilian dead. Governors and governors-general presided over the proceedings, submitting petitions requesting imperial recognition for new construction and rituals in their memorials. There is a curious symmetry between the efforts by local elites to obtain ritual status for the unclaimed dead buried in new Martyrs' Cemeteries and the provincial officials' efforts to obtain the same sort of recognition for the Hunan Army dead.[120] By pursuing ritual honors for the local civilian dead equivalent to those statutorily granted to military and civilian officials deemed to have died for the dynastic cause, local elites and provincial officials refocused attention on

the righteousness of civilian communities formerly occupied by the Taiping, insulating the dead from reproach by ritually inscribing them as martyrs.

At the same time, the local welfare bureaus insisted upon tax exemption for the lands occupied by the cemeteries, providing detailed information about their locations and acreage. The repeated requests for tax exemptions for cemetery land suggest that charitable organizations may have used the burial grounds as tax shelters, and that their interest in these sites may not have been purely commemorative.[121] Feng Xianliang notes that there was a significant increase in the number of charitable cemeteries created in the six counties around Lake Tai during the Tongzhi reign. He observes that many of these charitable cemeteries were located on abandoned lands. By having these lands declared tax-exempt at a time when tenants were hard to find, local elites stanched losses on their unproductive land holdings. These same elites also were able more easily to force their own moral agenda of making the poor bury their dead in an orthodox manner, as burial became more affordable relative to cremation or delayed interment, although both of these latter practices persisted.[122]

Even before the war, charitable institutions, often working in cooperation with county and prefectural magistrates and other officials, were expected to take responsibility for the unidentified or indigent dead, providing them with coffins and a decent burial.[123] Such institutions seem to have flourished, particularly beginning in the Daoguang reign. They responded vigorously to major floods in Jiangnan in 1823 and 1846, and the cholera epidemics of the 1820s and 1830s. Those who died away from their home jurisdiction would, under normal circumstances, be sent home for burial in a coffin provided by their native-place organization, or be buried locally in a charitable cemetery for displaced or sojourning natives of a particular locale established by a philanthropic organization for fellow landsmen.

In the postwar period, philanthropic organizations sought tax relief and recognition from the central government in exchange for their involvement in reconstruction, often specifically for their role in creating charitable cemeteries and mass graves for the unidentified dead. Dynastic and local interests converged: in commemorating the dead and addressing the problem posed by unclaimed corpses, charitable organizations often served their own interests as well. For example, by 1869 the Provincial Capital Welfare Association had received permission to use the newly built shrine at the mass grave at Tianchi Temple in Hangzhou as the headquarters for its river rescue operations.[124] At the same time, the relevant documents reiterate that *all* of

those buried at the site were righteous and loyal martyrs. During the postwar period, the managers of charitable institutions often figured themselves as agents of the dynastic order, acting locally on behalf of (or in partnership with) provincial officials and the court, even when their interests were not in perfect alignment with those of the central or provincial government.

The expectation that gentry-managed charitable institutions should play a central role in burying unclaimed and unidentified corpses seems to have solidified prior to the Taiping War, as we see in regulations for charitable institutions compiled and published in the mid-nineteenth century.[125] The *Deyi lu* (a morality book in the form of a collection of model and constitutional documents for philanthropic organizations), edited by Yu Zhi and first published in 1869, includes prescriptive materials related to disposition of unclaimed corpses found by the side of the road or in canals, including sample forms for coroners.[126] These materials testify to the role that philanthropic organizations were supposed to play in burying the dead. Such documents, many of which were produced in the 1850s, assert charitable hall jurisdiction over the dead and provide formulas for documentation intended to prevent conflict among neighbors, clerks and runners, landlords, and local officials who might otherwise (in ordinary times) be expected to use an unclaimed or unidentified corpse to advance their own sometimes extortionate agendas.[127] The charitable hall managers thus position themselves and their organizations as objective arbiters solving problems in a conflict-ridden local society. These priorities and procedures no doubt changed—or were abandoned—when the waterways were clogged with corpses so densely packed that in some instances they obstructed boat travel, or when more than one hundred thousand skeletons were said to have been piled up outside the city wall. The coroner's checklist surely represented an ideal prescription difficult to carry out in the context of civil war. Nevertheless, the charitable organizations emerged after war's end with a much enhanced position as the agents of burial and developers of cemeteries and shrines to dispose of and honor the dead.

One document from the *Deyi lu*, dated summer 1861 and produced by the managers of a charitable hall in Shanghai, suggests the expanded demand for burial services due to wartime carnage and some of the strategies that developed in response to the situation. The document proposes construction of a new cemetery in Shanghai to accommodate the deceased natives of nearby districts now resident in Shanghai whose bodies could not be returned to their native places in southern Jiangsu because of the "extremes

of this fighting and the huge numbers of deaths, which have made the repatriation of corpses difficult."[128] The same document also requests official permission to build an additional cemetery to accommodate the city's indigent, and it alludes to the danger posed by ghosts, particularly in situations where a large number of corpses remained unburied. Finally, and typically, the charitable hall requests a tax exemption for the lands occupied by the cemetery. In this instance, the local official to whom they submitted their request approved construction of the cemeteries, deferring comment on tax exemption. Similar documents from the immediate postwar period suggest that this type of interaction between local philanthropic organizations and officials involving land-use and tax-exemption requests for the purpose of establishing burial sites had become quite usual across the Jiangnan region. Such documents also highlight the role played by philanthropic organizations in creating and managing new cemeteries, ossuaries, and mass graves.

Burial formed part of the larger cluster of philanthropic activities through which local elites promoted social order and accumulated (religious) merit. The massive task of burying (and honoring) the war dead, and other philanthropic projects associated with reconstruction and recovery, arguably enhanced the position of philanthropic organizations and their constituents in the postwar period. It seems telling that Taiping officials in occupied Suzhou sought to involve a well-known philanthropist in burying the dead under their jurisdiction; presumably they knew that this was an activity that he had engaged in prior to the war—and an issue that people like him cared deeply about.[129] Although this particular philanthropist evidently refused to participate, the Burial Bureau resumed its work dealing with exposed corpses within weeks after the Taiping forces occupied the city.[130] In the Taiping capital of Nanjing, an institution was established early on to bury the dead. It was termed a *guan*, making it at least nominally equivalent to the residential-production units that organized life in the city under the Taiping regime. Like the other *guan*, the Burial Office (*Yanmai guan*) operated under a regimen of strict gender segregation and command participation. It thus differed organizationally from the gentry-operated bureaus and philanthropic organizations that took charge of burying the dead in Qing territory. At the outset, the Burial Office employed thirty people specifically to remove and bury the corpses of women who died in the Women's Hall. Later, because of the large number of deaths, the Burial Office established additional branches. Ultimately, however, the women were made responsible for carrying out their "sisters'" corpses for burial outside the walled city.[131]

As has been well attested elsewhere, gentry-managed philanthropic organizations were essential to the basic functioning of local society in the postwar period and many such organizations were created to deal with the wreckage.[132] Fuma Susumu has demonstrated that in Hangzhou the Benevolence Association (Tongshan hui) was established in 1864 by a coalition of local elites and officials six months after Zuo Zongtang and his forces retook the city. The new organization had subsidiary bureaus with functions including providing materials for coffins, a burial bureau (*yanmai ju*), a charitable clinic, and charitable schools, underscoring the extent to which philanthropic organizations were expected to deal with the needs of the dead and the living. Moreover, although there had been a gentry-organized burial society in Hangzhou starting in the Daoguang period, it had ceased operations. A new burial bureau was established immediately after the reconquest with the express objective of burying all of the dead within three months.[133] The new organization ultimately was absorbed into the unified Benevolence Association. Fuma Susumu suggests that creation or reinvigoration of charitable organizations in the Tongzhi period was closely linked to the imperative to deal with unclaimed corpses and bury the dead, and that these institutions were at the outset strongly influenced by links to the provincial government, even as they were staffed and funded by local elites.[134]

We see this pattern in Suzhou as well. Ke Wuchi records a visit to the city immediately after the city's reconquest by Li Hongzhang's forces. He notes that of the buildings once located outside the six gates of the walled city not even a single shard of tile remained, and that the entire west side of the walled city had been obliterated while about half of the east side was in ruins. He rues the near-total loss of the city's famous and scenic sites. All of the city's administrative offices were reduced to rubble, he reports, and only the gardens that had been converted to Taiping palaces remained standing, conspicuous for their gaudiness among the ruins.[135] Faced with destruction on this unthinkable scale, the provincial government based its operations in a former Taiping Palace, and, he tells us, local philanthropists immediately established institutions to help with the reconstruction, attending to the needs of both the dead and the living. Ke lists them in this order: a Bureau for Collecting and Burying Corpses, a Bureau to Raise Orphans, soup kitchens, and charitable clinics.[136]

Across Jiangnan, philanthropic organizations worked in cooperation with local officials, to finance and carry out urgent tasks related to reconstruction and, at least in administrative centers, gave them a mechanism

through which to engage the provincial government and thus gain additional political standing. Participation in such organizations reinforced the social position and advanced the social interests of the lower gentry who made up their membership, and indeed one could argue that the war propelled lower gentry and failed examination candidates to positions of unprecedented power and influence, both official and extrabureaucratic.[137] These organizations also were crucial to the reimagining of Confucian orthodoxy in response to the Taiping and Christian heterodoxy. Finally, they appear to have used their role in burying the dead to advance and protect their members' economic interests by actively pursuing tax exemptions for land occupied by shrines and cemeteries and by recording the size and scope of the tax-exempt land in order to protect it from encroachment by local strongmen and appropriation for leisure purposes and profit making by the *hoi polloi*.[138] The issue of locating remains and orchestrating commemoration for the war dead remained salient for several decades, with some constituencies seeking to curate commemoration of the war dead up to the 1890s.

From Burial to Commemoration

In one of a series of poems about the war, Jin Changfu asks rhetorically, "With no money to pay the militia men [to fight] / How is it that in the end they have been moving corpses for the entire war?" In the next two couplets, he refers to shrines and rituals to appease and honor the dead, suggesting the possibility of a radical transformation: from abandoned bones to officially recognized martyrs, reintegrated into community and empire. The poem implies a connection: the weary work of moving corpses would find its end in imperial recognition and ritual commemoration. There is a compensatory logic at work here. Corpses and bones would have to be reimagined as martyrs and celebrated as moral exemplars in order to requite senseless sacrifice. Thus the poet contrasts disordered heaps of bodies and weapons with the orderly array of ritual implements.[139] The specific processes—legal, religious, textual, and architectural—through which the dynasty and its erstwhile allies laid claim to the memory of the dead are the subject of the next chapter.

These processes were not straightforward; nor were they swift or long-lasting. Nor were they hegemonic, despite the philanthropists' controlling interest and powerfully Confucian affinities. Buddhism offered an alterna-

tive to state ritual in dealing with the dead, in some cases providing for the restless and potentially dangerous Taiping dead, and in others offering alternative language with which to criticize official commemoration. Rituals in Buddhist temples, for example, seem at least in some cases to have afforded the opportunity to appease the restless spirits of the Taiping dead. One source tells us that people in Nanjing made special provision for Hong Xiuquan and Li Xiucheng at Kunlu Temple in order to placate their ghosts, and not, the author assures us, out of any loyalty to their movement.[140] A Buddhist eulogy sought redemption through better rebirth for all of the war dead, specifically the defending officials, the thousands slaughtered or dead by suicide in the Manchu garrison at Nanjing, the children, and the women who had suffered rape—and the Taiping leaders and followers—"that they too might taste redemption 'in the sweet dew of grace.'"[141]

In 1887, perhaps in an implicit criticism of the failure of dynastic honors to placate the uneasy dead, local elites collected funds and engaged Buddhist monks to carry out rites to comfort their souls on the grounds of the Shrine Honoring the Loyal and Righteous (Zhongyi ci) in Hangzhou. The ritual lasted for twenty-one days; the sound of the recitation of sutras could be heard from a considerable distance. Crowds of worshippers, including many women, came from the city to make offerings of food, incense, and candles. An article in the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* covered the event. The author concludes that the scene was as crowded and noisy as a local temple on a pilgrimage day. But, he adds, "when we think of the cruel disaster of those days [of war and occupation], we can only cast aside our pens and sigh sadly for the pain that has not yet dissipated."[142]

As we shall see in the next chapter, the Qing government retold the story (unconvincingly) as a victorious campaign against heterodox challengers. And as we have already seen, individuals such as Yu Zhi turned the war into a moral parable for inclusion in new, hyper-Confucian tracts. The imperatives of reintegration, reconstruction, and restoration commanded ideological clarity, inscribed in officially sanctioned forms of commemoration, even as circumstances on the ground rendered these efforts forced, unstable, and transitory. The bodies of the dead seem, under these postwar circumstances, to become elements in other narratives, used for other purposes: to rally community, to inspire moral transformation, to "prove" collective loyalty to the dynasty, to demonstrate the dynasty's failings, to highlight acts of bravery, or to occasion tax deductions on cemetery land. A war that divided families and in which many changed sides out of oppor-

tunism or desire to protect home and family was rewritten as a morality tale of good versus evil, of fixed allegiances, and great heroes who fought to the death, or who at least died nobly. And so, the ambivalent dead were worked into other stories, even as new mechanisms and venues were established to dispose of their physical bodies and older rituals were invoked to comfort their wronged and angry souls. As we shall see in the next chapter, wartime death was made politically, and locally, meaningful through production of martyrologies, ritual registers, and shrines that marked a new commemorative landscape.

CHAPTER FIVE

Wood and Ink

Names inscribed on wooden tablets arranged hierarchically in shrines exalted the war dead. Books and lists testified to heroic sacrifice in the name of the Qing state. Whether carved in wood or stone, written in ink, or given form as architecture, efforts to honor the dead endeavored to impose order on disorderly experiences. Who was loyal? Who was righteous? Who betrayed the dynasty and joined the rebels? Clear and absolute categories were defied and undermined in practice; and yet, survivors tried retrospectively to fit their lives and their dead to unyielding templates marking imperial honor and rebel wretchedness. In the aftermath of war, the re-inscription of orthodox values through construction of loyalty shrines and compilation of martyrologies could reiterate commitment to the dynasty and the principles it ostensibly stood for. Or it could point to the dynasty's failure to uphold those very same principles. The image of the well-tended dead lodged in centrally mandated shrines, ritually satisfied and no longer threatening, coexisted uncomfortably with the need to alleviate popular outrage at the dynasty's failings, and with the lingering shadows of war.

For both local and dynastic actors, commemoration of the dead evidently was understood as an essential precondition for postwar re-integration.[1] What institutions, rituals, and expectations framed these acts of commemoration? Where and when were they invented, and what was their history? Did honoring the dead represent a form of closure, a strategy to render war

and death things of a time definitively past? Or did commemoration mark the beginning of new, ongoing, and deeply familiar relationships between the living and the dead, providing a formal mechanism through which survivors could minister to the posthumous needs of the departed? And whose anger—that of the living or the dead—would be assuaged thereby? To what extent did postwar remembrance require forgetting—a strategic erasure of wartime atrocities, in the interest of asserting a rosily reimagined antebellum dynastic order? And finally, how did the politics of commemoration change over time in the uncertain and volatile context of late Qing China?

Coming to terms with recent catastrophic events clearly was an urgent concern in nineteenth-century China. Indeed, even as official and local actors shared this objective, at the same time they contended over the power to define and curate wartime memory, and thus to define and shape postwar society in service to their competing interests. In a sense, by affirming their loyalty to the state, and by using state-sanctioned commemorative forms, local elites enhanced their own dominance over local society. A full complement of laws, physical monuments, and codified honorifics undergirded late Qing commemorative projects, infusing legitimacy, moral clarity, and political certainty into what had been, for many, deeply ambivalent events. The use of state-sanctioned commemorative ritual, language, and architecture produced legitimacy and authority for the dynasty in the aftermath of what was by all accounts a political and military debacle. The same commemorative forms also became tools through which the provincial officials and regional military officers who had won the war and local elites expressed their new power *vis-à-vis* the center.

The names of hundreds of thousands of individuals were submitted to the Board of Rites in hopes of obtaining official honors. Many of them received official recognition for having died loyally and righteously. For example, two hundred thousand named individuals were honored in one of several shrines honoring the dead at Hangzhou. Eligible by statute for state honors, individuals ritually enshrined in venues devoted to the memory of the war dead were recorded in semiofficial and extraofficial compilations of materials related to wartime martyrs, in local gazetteers, and in letters, diaries, and literary or commemorative collections. Those honored included officials, soldiers, men, and women. As commemoration became increasingly a local project during and after the Taiping Rebellion, memorial practices were influenced by those methods used to make sense of the local past more broadly, such as onsite research, textual gathering, and oral interviews.

These activities, framed by institutions old and new, local and dynastic, increasingly intersected with efforts by the local elite to redefine their relationship to the Qing central state, ever more powerful provincial authorities, and their own communities.

Defining the "Dynasty's Dead"[2]

The first section of this chapter asks who were the dead honored by the dynasty and thus centers on the criteria through which the state singled out and assembled individual bodies into a group identified as worthy of official honors at a given moment in time. To answer this question requires a longer diachronic view—and a consideration of state-sponsored commemoration under the Qing more generally. By tracing the evolution of the state system of honors back to the early eighteenth century, we gain a better understanding of how commemoration, originally a political and ideological tool for an expansive imperial authority, became a bureaucratic function (an "assembly line," to borrow the term that Mark Elvin applied to nineteenth-century chastity honors) and ultimately devolved onto provincial and local authorities.[3] This expansion and downward transfer accelerated with the war against the Taiping. During the war, the extraordinary number of deaths caused proliferation of honors and awards, further streamlining of bureaucratic procedures, and expanded involvement of provincial officials and local elites in the processes of investigation and commemoration. Thus, the category "war dead" expanded from a formerly limited subset of officers, many of whom were Manchu, whose success on the battlefield was seen as worthy of formal commemoration, to a vast category encompassing the victims of warfare, civilian or military above a certain minimal social status, who died facing the dynasty's enemies, whether in battle or by suicide. We can see this clearly in a closer examination of one subcategory of state honors: ritual enshrinement in the Manifest Loyalty Shrine (Zhaozhong ci) as a representative mode through which the dynasty honored its war dead.

An examination of this institution in the *Da Qing huidian shili* (*Collected Statutes of the Great Qing, with Precedents*) shows that the answer to the question "Who were the dynasty's dead?" changed quite dramatically as the definition of "worthy (war) dead" expanded over the course of the dynasty in response to ideological, military, and political exigencies. By exploring commemoration of the war dead in the Qing context, as prescribed in law and binding precedent, we learn, perhaps not surprisingly, that honors conferred

upon the dynasty's dead were ultimately less about recognizing the meritorious acts of individuals and more about articulating an imagined (and changing) relationship between the state and its subjects.[4]

Honors for the war dead were part of a broader constellation of state-sanctioned recognition for moral exemplars enumerated and broadly promulgated by the Qing state. Such honors inscribed a particular set of essential moral and political values, specifically chastity, loyalty, and filial devotion, rendering them legible to both the present and posterity through a system of rewards and honors. The state placed these virtues at the center of its moral project (*jiaohua*) and privileged them as essential to its own ideological legitimacy. Individuals exemplifying these values were eligible for recognition with construction of ceremonial arches, inclusion in biannual rituals, recognition in local gazetteers, enshrinement, and monetary rewards.[5]

The loyal and chaste were to be honored in central places in order to celebrate and promote models that were thought to embody proper social and political relationships. In her book *Disgraceful Matters: The Politics of Chastity in Eighteenth-Century China*, Janet Theiss argues that the figure of the chaste woman came, in the Yongzheng reign, to stand for the ideal subject of an expansionist civilizing state, and that chastity emerged as a key site for expression of Qing official political values more generally. At the same time, the state could not control for outcome: implementation of the chastity cult inevitably was subject to local and individual interpretation, as well as a shifting power balance between the court and the provinces.[6] Similarly, we can read changes in the statutory record on the disposition of the loyal war dead, and indeed, broader discourses on loyalty, not only as a response to the changing military situation facing the Qing rulers between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but also in terms of the articulation and unraveling of central authority over the course of the dynasty, a process that we should remember was more contingent and unpredictable than the outline narrative that follows will suggest.

To the High Qing emperors, loyalty represented a core value essential to the governance of an expanding state. To be eligible for honors, loyalty necessarily was expressed through death. Indeed, during the High Qing, Ming loyalists received recognition from the regime they had resisted, even as "twice-serving officials" were reviled by the dynasty that they had chosen to serve.[7] The state's commitment to honor loyalty achieved a new form of physical expression with completion of the metropolitan Manifest Loyalty Shrine (Zhaozhong ci) in 1729, a new institution established for the express

purpose of recognizing the contributions of those who had died in battle during the campaigns that led to the dynasty's founding.[8] At the same time, the Yongzheng emperor also established Shrines to the Loyal and Righteous (Zhongyi ci) in both the capital and in the provinces to honor commoners who died for the dynasty.[9] Over time, the distinction between these two categories of loyalty shrines blurred.

By honoring those who had died for the dynastic cause, the Yongzheng emperor sought to provide models that would be made visible through semiannual sacrifices and libations, concluding that the new shrine would be of "great utility in the Way of Governance."[10] Built inside the Chongwen Gate in the capital in response to the Yongzheng emperor's 1724 edict, the metropolitan shrine was among the first elements developed as part of a larger commemorative program honoring chaste women, filial and loyal men, and those good and able officials who "taught the law to the people and sought to stabilize the country."

With detailed ritual and spatial specifications provided by the emperor, the Manifest Loyalty Shrine explicitly was intended to honor military officers who gave their lives on the battlefield, from the time of Nurhaci through the time of the conquest, as well as those who, during the long reign of the Kangxi emperor, achieved major victories in the southwest, Taiwan, and Tibet. The 10,307 dead honored at the time of the shrine's founding constituted a corps of exemplars of service and loyalty to provide models for present and future subjects (including, as the emperor explicitly noted, the potentially intractable populations of the northwest).[11] In his edict, the emperor notes, citing classical precedent, that "those whose deaths assist state affairs should then be honored with sacrifices. Whenever achievements are repaid with honor and virtue, custom will encourage loyalty and chastity."[12] This statement reflects the reciprocal logic that underlay interpersonal and political relationships. Service should be requited with sacrifice, and recognition would inspire emulation. Yet in spite of the reference to the Chinese classics, the shrine represented a Qing institutional innovation, and at the outset it highlighted the martial prowess of the conquest and banner elite. At the same time, by calling for commemoration of glorious acts of loyal self-sacrifice on the victorious battlefield, the edict suggests that the emperor was intent on inspiring similar loyalty among living subjects, without regard to ethnic particularities.

During the long reign of the Qianlong emperor, the Manifest Loyalty Shrine functioned as one of the manifold stages on which the emperor pro-

moted the military achievements of his era, performed acts of spectacular benevolence, and commanded loyalty from his subjects in return.[13] The shrine also became a site through which ethnic priorities could be articulated and where status hierarchies were cross-examined and refined.[14] Paradoxically, victory ceased to be a prerequisite for enshrinement. The emperor authorized honors for officers who died in the campaigns against the Zunghars and the Miao, noting that he sought to express his "extreme concern for all those who have given their lives for the dynasty" regardless of whether the battle in question resulted in victory.[15] Though strict hierarchy was maintained in displaying tablets in the shrine, standards of inclusion loosened noticeably: the slaves of officers and soldiers who died in battle were to be honored variously with posthumous manumission, monetary compensation to their families, and enshrinement.[16] Even death in battle ceased to be required: special exceptions were made for prominent individuals who committed suicide during the Eleuth War, for military officers who died of illness, and for civilians of some recognizable status who died resisting rebels and bandits, such as magistrates, jailors, and tribal chiefs.[17]

Extravagant displays of imperial benevolence, according to the prevailing reciprocal and hierarchical calculus, commanded even greater expressions of subject loyalty in return.[18] By enlarging the cohort of individuals eligible for commemoration, the emperor performed his own extraordinary benevolence, while demanding exceptional loyalty from the living in return. The Qianlong emperor also made resistance to rebels worthy of state honors, equivalent to death in battle or military service. This laid the groundwork for further expansion of the category of individuals recognized as legitimate and thus enshrine-able war dead. Qianlong evidently intended the increase in eligibility as a centralizing gesture, but the precedent for expansion established in his reign forced later rulers to turn to bureaucratic and local processes in order to manage the mushrooming demand for imperial honors in the next century.

Under the Jiaqing emperor, members of local militias who died fighting against the White Lotus sectarians became eligible for enshrinement in the Manifest Loyalty Shrine. Although their presumed inferiority to imperial regulars remained symbolically salient in the subordinate placement of their spirit tablets, this change had the effect of greatly expanding the pool of prospective honorees. It also acknowledged the dynasty's increased reliance on (Han) militia irregulars as a result of the declining military prowess of the banner forces.[19] Still, garrison officers enthusiastically sought formal

honors for banner troops, contributing further to a backlog of demand for enshrinement in the Manifest Loyalty Shrine in Beijing. The Board of Rites and various provincial officials sent a memorial outlining the resulting space problem and proposed a possible solution, making use of existing structures across the realm as follows:

> What could be better to carry out the rites to comfort their loyal souls than setting up shrines in the prefecture and county seats of every province? This could be done by expanding the Guandi Temple or the City God Temple. This would have the added benefit of being audible and visible to their neighbors and relatives and by making their loyalty known these [new shrines] would encourage similar behavior [among the people].[20]

This new approach to enshrinement not only brought exemplars out of the capital and into prefectural and county seats, it also had the effect of further increasing the number of potential honorees of relatively low rank and from outside the banner hierarchy. At the same time, the spatial localization of "Manifest Loyalty" was also accompanied by hardening of the hierarchical logic within the shrines: the metropolitan shrine was to be reserved for special cases, placement in shrines was to follow strict status-based organization, and those participating in central rites were to wear their finest court robes. High-ranking officials were to be enshrined both at the metropolitan site and in their hometowns, in order "to restore their loyal souls to their home place and to make their neighbors and relatives aware of their deeds and while also letting them know the beautiful and brilliant benevolence of their dynasty [and thereby encouraging them to live accordingly]."[21] Bannermen were to be enshrined also in the locales where they died, with their names appearing above Green Standard and militia forces, as a reminder of the continued preeminence, at least in principle, of the Banner military elite.[22]

Localization of honors extended also to the selection process and shrine finances: shrines were to be paid for locally, with contributions from the provincial government or the Board of Rites providing supplementary funds in cases where the locale lacked the cash to pay for this new entitlement.[23] In this way the dynasty recognized a broader pool of honorable dead, and at the same time it assigned ritual and financial responsibility for their posthumous care to their hometowns or to the locales in which they died. The ostensibly centralizing gesture of honorific recognition was cast outward to the provinces, prefectures, and counties, where it became part of a different set of political and status calculations.

In the post-Qianlong context, we find a relative increase in references to enshrinement and annual sacrifices as "comforting the loyal souls" of the dead. Not only were the dynasty's dead represented with diminished frequency as heroic exemplars, but they were also, to a much greater extent than previously, represented as victims, to whom the dynasty and its local agents owed compensation and comfort.[24] Honorable death was increasingly located off the formal field of battle as the association between loyalty and military service weakened. Over the course of the early nineteenth century, we find a growing number of civilian martyrs who died either in encounters with rebels or as loyal suicides when faced with potentially compromised circumstances. By the early Daoguang period, the boundary between martyred civilians and soldiers honored in the local shrines was quite blurred, with, for example, nearly five thousand gentry, commoners, and women installed as martyrs in a local Manifest Loyalty Shrine in Shaanxi "according to the sub-statutes on loyalty and virtue" for their righteous conduct in a stunning example of resistance to rebels.[25] "Merchants and commoners, Han and Hui," honored as "adjunct martyrs" in one frontier situation, represented just part of an ever-growing number of civilians and civil officials in the category honored as "the dynasty's [war] dead."[26]

The justification for these loyalty honors became increasingly bureaucratic even as they were tied to the exceptional emotional pull and pathos attached to particular cases. Issues of status and rank were elaborated with ever greater refinement. At the same time, exceptions to these status regulations were readily permitted when extreme suffering and loss qualified victims for posthumous promotions that allowed them to meet the minimum ranks that were in theory required for enshrinement.[27] Thus, the status requirements eroded in practice even as they were reemphasized in principle.

The sheer volume of the dead considered eligible for honors overwhelmed the system in the 1850s and 1860s. An official report to the throne composed in 1853 notes that from the start of the Southern Rebellion (i.e., the Taiping War) honors had been bestowed on officials, soldiers, and gentry in regular and dedicated shrines constructed in order to display their virtue and loyalty. Should they also be admitted into the Manifest Loyalty Shrine? And were their dependents eligible as well for similar honors? The situation clearly called for extraordinary generosity. The emperor responded, "Do not leave anyone out, in order that my commitment to encouraging loyalty and virtue can be expressed." The sacrifices made by ordinary people in particular were not to be forgotten: "While there are distinctions to be made

between noble and base, in truth and righteousness, there is no disgrace."[28] Provincial authorities were to investigate and uncover cases of particularly meritorious sacrifice for special honors in order to ensure that victims in isolated and distant villages would not vanish without recognition.[29] Victims were to be elevated into martyrs and heroes—loyal to the dynasty unto their deaths.

Huge numbers of civilian officials and minor degree holders fill the long lists of potential honorees that appear among the precedents and substatutes—generally a handful of them identified by name and status, followed by a grim statistic. Women, too, were admitted into the shrines honoring the dynasty's war dead, although with the subordinate status of "adjunct honorees." In some cases female casualties were enshrined at separate institutions under the rubric "Chaste and Righteous."[30] Monetary awards were to be generous, and decisions needed to be streamlined and localized in order to produce models of steadfast loyalty for a restive audience and enshrine them publicly in the full range of venues (including, but not limited to, the Manifest Loyalty Shrine). Over the course of the Xianfeng reign (1851–1861), glorification of loyalty and righteousness became implicated in a campaign to assuage irate and despairing popular opinion, as was explicitly noted in several of the edicts included in the *Collected Statutes of the Great Qing, With Precedents*.[31]

Extreme loss called for extreme manifestations of sympathy expressed by way of extreme honors, and the devastating numbers required further systematization and bureaucratization. Faced with a daunting increase in requests for state honors from both military and civilian officials (and presumably emanating from petitioners in the locales where these officials served), the Xianfeng emperor issued an edict in 1853 streamlining applications for state honors and expanding the role played by local and provincial officials, all the while frantically highlighting his own extraordinary commitment to loyalty and compassion and protesting that he had been moved greatly by the loyalty and virtue of the gentry and officials martyred for the dynastic cause. His frustration seems transparent as he concludes:

> When an imperial decree says to follow the sub-statutes, follow the sub-statutes! There is no need to add posthumous honors repeatedly in order to manifest distinctions. As to those who have already filed paperwork, it does not matter whether the relevant memorial has been submitted; just handle the situation according to these new definitions and procedures. Let this be an order![32]

A year later, in 1854, the emperor issued a decree noting that previously the provincial authorities had been responsible for investigating militia braves who died in battle in areas affected by the rebellion for possible inclusion in the shrine. In addition to militia braves, however, gentry and commoners had been killed in the act of expressing righteous indignation. Their deeds, too, might be worthy of commemoration as a model for their relatives and communities. This determination should be made at the local level, and commemoration in the form of enshrinement and construction of an arch should occur as soon as the local investigation was completed satisfactorily. The Board of Rites could be notified later, in a timely fashion, and would provide storage for the relevant documents.[33] Families were compensated with money to assist with funeral expenses, as well as cash awards to inspire emulation of the model dead. And the dead were sorted into categories: officials, military officers, soldiers, gentry, commoners, women. They were ranked, as per the substatutes and precedents, and their tablets were arranged accordingly in rooms devoted to the several classes of dead.

These revisions reduced the role to be played by the Board of Rites, which became a reactive rubber stamp for local initiative ostensibly in the interest of "reducing delays."[34] They also apparently increased opportunities both for local and provincial-level initiative.[35] In 1858, the name "Manifest Loyalty Shrine" was applied to a naval monument under construction in Jiangxi. The emperor retroactively made the new building legitimate, asking that the local authorities complete the project in accordance with the substatutes regarding shrines of this name. Similarly, when in 1858 the leader of the anti-Taiping effort, Zeng Guofan, donated funds and materials to build a new shrine honoring the loyal and righteous gentry and officials and militia men from his hometown of Xiangxiang, the emperor (retroactively) granted approval, so long as this shrine too followed the precedents for Manifest Loyalty shrines.[36] And, when Zeng Guofan again memorialized asking that the shrine honoring the loyal and righteous that he had built in Pingjiang, Hunan, be recognized for official rites, the emperor again approved, under the heading "Manifest Loyalty," and moreover made provision for "impartial gentry and elders" to raise money through local charitable estates to fund the shrine and its sacrifices.[37]

These cases suggest that the name "Manifest Loyalty," once redolent of central authority and an imperial "civilizing mission," had become a symbolic tool at the disposal of provincial officials and local elites (who increasingly represented themselves as the rightful agents of "moral trans-

formation").[38] The former central-government functions of "comforting of loyal souls" and "glorification of virtue" thus were placed under the supervision of activist local elites and regional military authorities such as Zeng Guofan, who successfully interpolated themselves into the state's commemorative apparatus both through nominal and later statutory identification of the shrines they sponsored with the state system and also through creation of institutions dedicated to identifying and recognizing the loyal dead.[39]

In some cases, devolution of authority over shrines meant that provincial authorities and local elites made use of central nomenclature to honor particular groups. In others, it meant honoring the local dead under a different, but nominally similar, rubric. Regardless, the common project of honoring "the dynasty's" loyal dead barely masked postwar tensions such as those between Jiangnan communities and demilitarized Hunan and Anhui Army soldiers who were widely seen as unruly interlopers. Such tensions were manifest in the construction of separate shrines honoring regional army dead and dead gentry and commoners. In 1865, for example, Li Hongzhang petitioned for permission to build a Manifest Loyalty Shrine in Wuxi dedicated exclusively to the officers of the Hunan and Anhui Armies who had died recapturing Jiangsu province. The shrine occupied part of the grounds of Huishan Temple in a scenic area outside the walled city. In 1871, local men gathered materials and underwrote construction of the Mount Hui Shrine Honoring the Loyal and Chaste (Huishan zhongjie ci) on the grounds of the same temple and specifically dedicated it to "the gentry and women of our county who gave their lives during the difficulties of the Southern Rebels."[40]

In Hangzhou, officials from Hunan and Hubei serving as officials in Zhejing paid for construction of a shrine to honor the Hunan and Hubei Army war dead (Chu Xiang zhongyi ci) and underwrote extravagant Buddhist rites in their honor.[41] There were other shrines honoring Zhejiang Province's dead at Hangzhou, including the Venerate the Righteous Shrine (Chongyi ci) and a Manifest Loyalty Shrine (Zhaozhong ci); these were built by local elites who sought central recognition by way of the provincial authorities.

With the Taiping debacle, commemoration of the dynasty's dead became an essentially local project, and not always a particularly well-managed one. Indeed, in 1881 it was necessary for the center to (rather petulantly) remind its local agents that the Manifest Loyalty Shrines in every province were intended to "comfort the loyal dead and encourage bravery, and that it was not permissible to be negligent in carrying out the sacrifices, as had been

the case in recent years."[42] Although the dynasty maintained some symbolic commitment to commemorating its war dead through the Manifest Loyalty shrines, the practical and managerial work of selecting honorees and managing the shrines shifted to provincial and military agents, and beyond that to local elites working under the auspices of a new institution, over which they had substantial control.

Their interests in honoring the dynasty's dead were not always seamlessly aligned with the court's intentions. This becomes manifestly clear when we look at the construction of commemorative sites more closely and in a specific place, and at the production and publication of commemorative texts. Local elites appropriated the language of imperially bestowed honors to further enhance their own position and sphere of operations, paradoxically underscoring their autonomy by highlighting their commitment to both ruler and empire.[43] At the same time, because of the need for court and board affirmation of local decisions regarding honors, enshrinement of the war dead continued to serve as a conduit, however tenuous, for communication between the center and the locale. Moreover, the figure of the emperor remained symbolically salient in efforts to reconstitute communities after the war.[44]

Identifying the Dynasty's Dead

Commemorative projects honoring the dynasty's dead involved new institutions created at the provincial level during the war, by men who were simultaneously generals and administrators. Hunan Army General Zeng Guofan created the Liangjiang Bureau for the Selection and Investigation of the Loyal and Righteous (Liangjiang caifang zhongyi ju) in 1860, almost immediately after receiving his appointment as governor-general of Liangjiang.[45] Housed within Zeng's traveling headquarters, the bureau was tasked with obtaining information on "the meritorious and exemplary deaths of officials, gentry, gentlemen, ladies, and militia men who died in battle or were martyred." Materials were to be clarified and submitted to the bureau by provincial and local officials, or by the families of the deceased. Zeng himself would make periodic requests to the Board of Rites, submitting dossiers and requesting construction of collective or individual shrines and commemorative arches.[46]

Those men whom Zeng deputed to the bureau set to work collecting and disseminating the "facts" about martyred officials, local elites, and commoners in order to ensure that they received appropriate honors and that

their families were granted proper compensation to cover their funeral expenses. The creation of the Liangjiang Bureau further facilitated transfer of control over commemorative projects from the imperial center to local personnel. Subsequently, similar semiofficial institutions spread to individual prefectures and counties in the three provinces constituting Liangjiang (i.e., Anhui, Jiangsu, and Jiangxi)—and into other provinces, such as Zhejiang, where a bureau was set up in 1863.[47] After the reconquest, these bureaus set up headquarters in administrative centers. By the early 1870s, they were staffed by local men of education, "impartial gentry and elders" working under the (at least nominal) supervision of the provincial authorities.

Like other bureaus set up during the Tongzhi period, such as the book publishing bureaus and those to oversee publication of local gazetteers, the Bureaus to Gather and Investigate the Loyal and Righteous combined new forms of local and official activism with preexisting symbolism associated with state sanction. Thus, although court precedent provided the terminology through which "its" dead were to be honored even into the late nineteenth century, communities and individuals turned the call to remember the dead to their own shifting purposes, in sometimes paradoxical ways. As a result, the activities of these institutions need to be understood in terms of the sometimes conflicted, sometimes symbiotic relationship between local elites and provincial authorities, and both groups' understanding of their relationship to distant, dysfunctional, financially strapped, and yet symbolically salient central authority. As we have seen in the discussion of shrines, the provincial authorities were themselves often also officers in the regional armies that had won the war, and thus had commemorative agendas of their own, distinct from, and sometimes at odds with, those of the central state and local communities.[48]

These new institutions formed part of a constellation of projects designed to restore confidence in the regime and reconstitute local society in a shattered region, even as they exposed divisions of interest and capacity. The Liangjiang Bureau's commemorative projects were both architectural and textual, as they involved both enshrinement and publication of martyrologies. As the governor general of Liangjiang, Liu Kunyi, wrote in the preface to a publication commemorating the war dead:

> In 1860, Zeng Guofan came to serve in Liangjiang and he was deeply concerned that the souls of the chaste and noble who died in the process of pacifying the chaos not be permitted to be reduced to ashes and forgotten, so he broadly commissioned literary masters to investigate and examine and

> report on this to the court and display it in the shrine, reproducing their findings as the *Record of the Loyal and Righteous* (Zhongyi lu) thereby to disseminate it to the deep and the distant.[49]

Local elites, here styled "literary masters," gathered information, assembled dossiers, and submitted them to the provincial governor, who filed requests for official honors. These processes continued for a surprisingly long time after the war. We see this in the Zhejiang case, with fifty-eight requests for enshrinement in the Manifest Loyalty Shrine filed on behalf of tens of thousands of people by successive provincial governors between 1863 and 1896.[50]

The bureau's commemorative program neutralized potentially disruptive events by positioning them within a structured network among provincial officials, local elites, and the central authorities. The center imagined these processes as fundamentally local, particularly as its resources diminished, but the editors make insistent reference to their participation in a large and highly bureaucratic and ostensibly centralized system of state honors in their "Principles of Inclusion" (*fanli*).[51] Clearly the connection to the center, however tenuous in practice, at least in principle carried symbolic weight. And yet, in spite of this emphasis on formal, centrally sanctioned procedure, the bureau and its operatives still commanded substantial room for local independence. Indeed, much of the momentum for changing the system of state honors into an arena for local initiative appears to have come from provincial officials empowered through their successful suppression of the rebellion, as well as the financially strapped state of the besieged and overwhelmed center.[52]

Local elites from across the region seem to have taken the bureaus seriously and recorded their participation in compiling dossiers in both their correspondence and their diaries. Some individuals were also lauded for their participation in bureau investigations in their gazetteer biographies and other sources. Diarist Jin Changfu describes having taken a leading role in gathering information about the honorable dead in Yangzhou Prefecture.[53] In a letter preserved in his diary from 1863, Jin describes his activities with the self-deprecating language typical of a formal letter to a social superior:

> Formerly, I was involved in the investigation of martyred gentry and commoners. The combined total for the city and countryside [thus far] is more than 1,500 names. As Transport Commander Wu has repeatedly said in his memorials to the throne, we are still in the process of examining and record-

> ing in hopes of avoiding waste and omissions. First, we have invited the special honor of a dynastically sanctioned commemorative arch, and second to embody the excellent values that Your Honor has promoted. I only regret that my knowledge is not broad and I have not diligently applied myself to collecting and organizing the evidence and I am afraid that in the long run, the [martyrs] will have inexhaustible resentment and regret.[54]

In addition to this letter, Jin Changfu's diary also records specific occasions on which he submitted documents to the Yangzhou Bureau to Honor the Loyal (Bao zhong ju). Several of his poems suggest the significance attached to state honors, highlighting how commemoration at least in theory gave meaning to loss. Jin concludes one graphic poem narrating the experiences of a family that lost ten members by praising the man who submitted this family's documents for state honors. A member of the local elite, Jin used tools and language borrowed from a weakened but clearly not yet totally irrelevant center, as he recast the war in terms of moral triumph. In the context of the diary, commemorative activities appear alongside pleasure outings, weather reports, poetry exchanges, and banquets. Thus, participation in documenting martyrs fit into his daily itinerary and experience.

Commemorative projects occurred against the background of diminished state authority and increased emphasis—militarily, administratively, and otherwise—on local power. The emphasis on honoring the local dead through state honors but at local initiative may have helped the officials and elites who constituted and staffed new bureaus for investigation of chastity and loyalty martyrs make moral sense of suffering, and surely it also provided an opportunity to demonstrate retrospectively the virtue of their communities. Thus, even as the disaster was recorded in terms of destruction and reconstruction of infrastructure, it was also translated from ambivalent and complex experiences into morally absolute (and thus morally legible) heroism and values.

Some of this commemorative work was done in the context of local gazetteers, publications produced according to what was, by the late Qing, a well-established and centrally endorsed template, but with most of the writing and editing done by local men. For example, a chronological list of those martyred in the rebellion is appended in chart form to the late-nineteenth-century gazetteer shared by Wuxi and Jinkui Counties. The editors acknowledge that the list remained incomplete, not least because it included only those who could be construed as having died for the state, a category that includes gentry, commoners, monks, and sojourners.[55] The

names, sorted by class and marked by place or cause of death, proliferate on the page as the war shifts spatially and experientially from something affecting a handful of officials and gentry-sojourners from Wuxi in places such as Yangzhou and Nanjing, to something that engulfed the population of the entire county.

The chart renders the violence stylized, spare, and purposeful. The stated details do just enough to situate the dead, and their deaths, in the local landscape and establish them as martyrs and natives or residents.[56] They are all named, and in many cases linked in death to particular locations, especially bridges, neighborhoods, and villages. There is an illusion, then, of specificity, individuality, and loss, honored and requited through commemoration. Collectively, though, the dead form a motif, predictable and insistent. Significance is born of layering and litany, the accumulation of names and deaths translated into generic gestures of resistance, located in space and also in time. The fourth month of 1860 in Wuxi.[57] A man encountered rebels at Zhangjing Bridge and leapt to his death in the river. Attacked the rebels at Horse Bridge and died in battle. Along with his son and the rest of his family, committed suicide by self-immolation. Was killed while taking a boat to rescue refugees.[58] And then, categories: long lists, extending for many pages, of men who died of one cause or at one place, like the hundreds who were killed, still cursing, for refusing to submit to the rebels, or those who died in Yu Zhi's hometown of Floating Boat Village.[59]

Although most of those honored by the dynasty in gazetteers or in shrines died, at least ostensibly, at rebel hands, scattered evidence suggests that even those killed by the dynasty and its allies might also be eligible for official recognition. According to one source, when a group of friends near Suzhou were playing at the planchette (fuji), a spirit descended into the platform and wrote to them of his life and death. Identifying itself, the spirit explained that in 1864 he was captured by the garrison troops. Refusing to surrender, he killed himself. At the time, he was a boy of fourteen. His bones had since been buried at the White Bone Pagoda (Bai gu ta) on Tiger Hill. The friends were pleased at the communication from beyond the grave, although they were later unable to contact the boy's spirit; after investigating his story, they recommended him for official honors.[60]

In an even more extraordinary case, the editors of the Xiangxiang County, Hunan, gazetteer describe Huang Shuhua, the teenaged daughter of a literati family from Nanjing (who lived in the rebel capital) as an exemplary martyr for having defended her chastity against the Hunan Army

men who captured her when the Taiping capital fell in 1864. The editors reproduce the essay that the girl evidently wrote and left on the wall of a hostel in Xiangxiang County. The essay explains her troubles and proclaims her righteous decision to die; and yet, just as it perfectly reproduces the virtue of chastity, it challenges expectations regarding native place and loyalty. Xiangxiang was, after all, the native place of Zeng Guofan—and of her Hunan Army abductors, even so the gazetteer describes the vengeful girl as wise, chaste, and righteous.

As a young girl, Shuhua lived with her brothers in the Taiping capital at Nanjing. Her elder brothers taught her to read and write and introduced stories of chaste exemplars ancient and recent, explaining that because the family "had sought refuge within the walled city [of Nanjing], when the city was recaptured [by official forces] we would most certainly be killed. Better to sacrifice ourselves than to disgrace our ancestors." She explained in her essay that she had refused marriage proposals because of the uncertainty of the times and that she had celebrated the city's reconquest, not realizing that it would bring disaster upon her family. On the second day, soldiers came and killed her two brothers and ransacked their rooms. Her mother knelt down and wailed; the soldier became angry and shouted, "Kill all of those who followed the rebels! Show no mercy! Those are the general's orders!" And so they killed her mother and her little brother and her sister-in-law.

Shuhua begged the soldier to kill her as well, and he laughed, saying, "I love you! And so you, I will not kill!" Tied up and transported upriver to Hunan, Shuhua contemplated revenge. Upon arrival at the hostel, she wrote her essay and ten poems, then murdered her captors, and hanged herself.[61] A woman who murdered two Hunan Army men in their home region is nevertheless described as a righteous, chaste, and courageous woman worthy of favorable mention in the hometown gazetteer. Who then is qualified to represent the dynasty's dead? And who best embodied orthodox virtues?

Building a Local Monument to the Dynasty's Dead

Through ritual and architectural commemoration, individual acts of virtue expressed through suffering and death were refracted into an image of collective or communal merit in language consistent with the dynasty's moral mandate. Symbolic transactions that ostensibly played out between the center and the locale transformed officials, neighbors, and relatives into a constellation of loyal and righteous martyrs, resolute in their resistance to the

enemy, and thus unfailing in their commitment to the (faltering) Qing. As one postwar governor of Zhejiang wrote, in the preface to a volume cataloguing and honoring the meritorious dead:

> In the two hundred years from the founding of our dynasty, the ordinary people have been bathed in virtue and tempered in moral transformation, deeply and for a long time. Everyone thus knows the virtue of dying for a just cause and laying down one's life in a crisis. At the top, high-ranking officials and officers, and at the bottom, clerks and ordinary men and women and children—all of them were stirred up in righteous anger and even if their heads were split and their hearts rent, if nine died, not one regretted it![62]

The dead in this context form part of a carefully presented pattern in which virtue and self-sacrifice requite two centuries of imperial benevolence. Damage becomes a necessary antecedent to glorious transfiguration against the backdrop of a state-mandated and locally financed shrine.

Textual and architectural monuments honoring the war dead in some cases insistently testify to a place's restored place in the political order, and they speak to the complex symbolic web that tentatively (and incompletely) rebound the center to shattered provincial cities. During the civil war and in its aftermath, local shrines honoring the war dead functioned as one of a constellation of institutions where activist elites appropriated the dynasty's authority unto themselves. Elaborate procedures were required in order to document the worthiness of each honoree, in adherence to the ostensibly centralizing mandate to honor the dynasty's dead. Individual experiences were homogenized into celebrations of self-sacrifice and heroism in the name of the dynasty. Such gestures encode a peculiar form of local boosterism: the notion that a locale's extreme affliction was a manifestation of its extraordinary righteousness was not uncommon (even if these gestures seem grotesque today). Misery and death inevitably illuminated otherwise hidden virtue, both individual and collective. Thus the local gazetteer and a compilation dedicated to remembering the province's dead observe that the human suffering in the vicinity of Hangzhou was especially horrific and was thus exceptionally meritorious.[63] Sources from other jurisdictions make similar claims.[64] For instance, writers from Jiangyin, Jinshan, Jiading, and Yangzhou highlight continuity with the righteous suicides that accompanied the Qing conquest, rhetoric we might read as subversive if it were not so consistent with the dynasty's own definition of the virtue.

In Suzhou, after the war, the old Manifest Loyalty Shrine was deemed too small to accommodate those eligible for official honors. The site of the rebel government near Pingqiao in the southern part of the city was repurposed to enshrine those who had been honored in the old shrine: officers from the Hunan and Anhui armies who died in pacifying the prefecture, and those officials, gentry, and commoners who died when the city fell in 1860, along with those from other prefectures and provinces who died there with them.[65]

Feng Guifen (1809–1874), a well-known statecraft writer, wrote an essay about the loyalty shrine in Suzhou in which he makes note of the extraordinary gestures of loyalty inspired by the dynasty's unprecedented commitment to that cardinal virtue. He notes that loyalty and righteousness were manifested and emanated by the high and low alike. Not only had officials in high office given their lives in battle or died when their cities fell, but even ordinary gentry and commoners, women and children were of like mind and heart and died righteously as if death were as easy as returning home.[66] Postwar construction of a shrine could thus be interpreted, as it was by Feng, as an inspirational gesture—by honoring these dead, the living might be moved to further loyalty, now and in the future. In addition, he commends the region's postwar officials; by constructing a shrine while also restoring order, they had begun the process of healing the wounds sustained in the recent war.[67] With such gestures, local men signaled their desire for reintegration into the polity after a period of unseemly occupation.

By contrast, other Jiangnan men, directly or between the lines, articulated dissatisfaction and communal tensions with reference to enshrinement and state honors. For example, in a collection of poems about the war, Xu Yaoguang expresses his belief that personal likes and dislikes prejudicially influenced decisions about honors in Hangzhou.[68] The commemorative landscape, once the object of imperial mandate emanating from Beijing, became in effect a local institution, subject to manipulation and redeployment by those whose interests were firmly grounded in the Yangzi delta region.

The commemorative project in Hangzhou began even before the war affected the region directly. In 1855, Wang Youling, then the prefect of Hangzhou, appropriated the name "Manifest Loyalty" to his own purposes. Wang used construction of a shrine to honor the province's dead from the ongoing conflict with the Southern (i.e. Taiping) Rebels in order to redevelop the grounds of a declining local academy. In an essay on the new shrine, Wang questioned the adequacy of existing commemorative structures, arguing that

the Manifest Loyalty Shrine in Beijing honored only the highest-ranking civil and military officials, while only locals were to be enshrined in the provincial or prefectural-level shrines. What then was to be done to honor officials serving in Zhejiang who had died in office since the beginning of the Taiping rebellion? Clearly, Hangzhou needed a new institution in which to carry out and expand upon centrally mandated Manifest Loyalty rites, and where better to house it than on the grounds of one of the local academies—specifically one that desperately needed an infusion of cash?

The Ziyang Academy (Ziyang shuyuan), named for its association with Zhu Xi, had recently fallen upon hard times. Its formerly lucrative affiliation with the salt monopoly could no longer sustain or restore it. By reinventing the academy as a site in which to ritually honor local officials and native sons killed in the recent conflict, the prefectural magistrate, Wang Youling, was able to provide the academy with financing for needed renovations, even as he claimed that the new shrine might inspire renewed feelings of loyalty in its visitors, an important consideration in troubled times.[69] Unfortunately, in 1860 the shrine and the academy and their official patron (by then promoted to the governorship of Zhejiang Province, whose capital was also located in Hangzhou) all fell victim to the very conflagration that occasioned their (re)construction. The shrine was ruined. Several hundred people had been enshrined on the site, but not one memorial tablet survived.[70] A more lasting and complete tribute to the war dead at Hangzhou would have to wait until after the war ended—and there would be far more war dead to honor by then.

Official and local processes of commemoration had already begun in earnest as the Qing and its allies began to retake the Jiangnan heartland. Indeed, local elites in Hangzhou constructed a shrine in which to honor the dead of 1860 as soon as the Taiping forces pulled out of the city in that same year. This Venerate the Righteous Shrine (Chongyi ci) was partially destroyed in the second assault on Hangzhou in 1861 and was rebuilt by philanthropists shortly after the reconquest in order to commemorate locals and officials who had died in the war.[71] Rites originally were carried out on the anniversaries of the city's occupation by Taiping forces in 1860 and 1861, and thus were not synchronized with the official ritual calendar.[72] Evidently concerned that local elites were carrying out rituals honoring the dead outside the officially sanctioned system of honors, Governor Ma Xinyi (served 1865–1868) later applied for imperial recognition for this irregular shrine, and it received some official funding, an arch, and a commemora-

tive plaque.[73] Its principal source of maintenance was money from the endowed land, formerly owned by local degree holders who died in the war, and construction was funded, initially, by the famously philanthropic Ding brothers, Bing and Shen, on a site provided by a local man who was said to have been so deeply moved by the events he had witnessed that he gave up his house.

Although resources for reconstruction of the region and its storied cities remained limited, particularly in light of ongoing military crises, projects honoring the dead, at least in principle, commanded a share.[74] Institutional underpinnings and personnel for formal commemoration were in place even before the war ended. The Zhejiang Bureau to Investigate the Loyal and Righteous was established at Ningbo in 1863 and transferred to Hangzhou immediately after the provincial capital's reconquest. Projects documenting the loyal and righteous dead carried out under the bureau's auspices absorbed the energies of local elites and retired officials resident in Hangzhou, operating under the imprimatur of government sanction. Bureau dossiers and publications anticipated (by nearly a decade) the more costly construction of an officially sanctioned physical space in which to honor the dead, finally authorized in 1871 in response to local initiative. Once the need for such a site was determined, the question of where to locate—and especially how to fund—a shrine to honor the loyal dead was the subject of intense lobbying and punting by official and local stakeholders. Development of a commemorative landscape in Hangzhou can thus be read as one of many arenas of competition (and cooperation) among national and provincial, official, and local interests—all ostensibly speaking the symbolic language of loyalty to the regime.

In 1863, the Grand Secretariat received an imperial edict announcing that Zuo Zongtang, Wang Youling's successor as the governor of Zhejiang, had sent a memorial reporting that he had already investigated and clarified the identities of high-ranking officials and made note of their virtue and the true circumstances of their deaths. Zuo included his predecessor Wang Youling, who was said to have committed suicide when the Taiping forces overran the province in 1861, among the officials so investigated.[75] Zuo, or more accurately his agents, organized the materials pertaining to the dead officials into detailed lists and submitted dossiers of supporting information. The responding edict explained that these men were to be honored ritually at the provincial capital's Manifest Loyalty Shrine and that their spirit tablets were to be housed there. This was of course a premature command.

Qing forces, under Governor Zuo Zongtang, had yet to retake the provincial capital, and thus no rituals in honor of the dead officials could yet be undertaken even if the site had survived Taiping occupation.

For years after the city was recaptured in April 1864, there remained no dedicated site under the institutional rubric of "Manifest Loyalty" for the formal rituals to honor the war dead that were required by statute and granted by imperial edict.[76] Over the next decade, in response to requests submitted by successive provincial governors, the emperor authorized construction of individual shrines in honor of dead provincial level officials. He also authorized enshrinement in the Manifest Loyalty Shrine as well as inscription on a collective stele to be placed in a central location for gentry, officials, and commoners who "died in battle or otherwise gave their lives for the empire."[77] Nevertheless, in spite of repeated transactions requesting and authorizing honors and accumulated documentation compiled by the Zhejiang Bureau to Gather and Investigate the Loyal and Righteous, the Manifest Loyalty Shrine had not yet been built.

Documents reproduced in the shrine gazetteer published (and probably compiled) as part of the *Weeping for Hangzhou, 1860 and 1861* (Gengxin qi Hang lu) indicate that local gentry had long since purchased a house on Leather Market Alley (Pi shi xiang) with the intention of using it for a Manifest Loyalty Shrine.[78] The building on the property proved too small for the large number of dead who required commemoration, however, and the site was, in any case, deemed "too remote." Such straitened circumstances would deprive the dead of spectacle and sustenance commensurate with their virtuous deaths. In addition, and probably more importantly, local leaders had other priorities in mind for the property. In a project typical of postwar Jiangnan, in 1867 they decided to fix up the building for use as a charitable school.[79] At roughly the same time, the governor indicated to the Military Requisitions Bureau that the work of investigating and gathering information on the dead had not yet been satisfactorily completed, in spite of the time elapsed since the retaking of the provincial capital. Within no more than one year (that is, by 1868) identification of dead exemplars would have to be completed. Moreover, each administrative jurisdiction in the province would need to carry out the required rites at a Manifest Loyalty Shrine. The penalty for noncompliance with this order was left ambiguous, and in any event the process took considerably longer than the allotted year.

Faced with a large number of dossiers and a tight deadline, a group of local eminences requested assistance from the civil authorities. They sought

help in selecting an appropriate site, and perhaps more importantly funding with which to begin construction.[80] In exchange, they offered to take charge of placement of the tablets, preparation of inscriptions for the arches, and storage in the shrine for all of the case dossiers, documents, books, and printing blocks from the *Record of the Loyal and Righteous in Zhejiang* (Zhejiang zhongyi lu).[81] Although government documents locate initiative with the governor, reiterating his commitment to "perpetual promotion and display of loyalty and righteousness" and to expeditious construction of a Manifest Loyalty Shrine in conformity with the requirement that all administrative units have such a venue,[82] literary sources produced by the local men highlight their own role as the originators of this project, suggesting that it was they who petitioned the governor asking him to approve and fund their commemorative endeavors. Permission was granted in 1869, and the shrine was completed in 1872.

In their search for an appropriate site for the shrine, the retired officials and local elites pursued various options. One site on the main road inside the Wulin gate seemed suitable, but they were unable to purchase enough contiguous land from its various commoner owners. They then determined that a property called Jinya zhuang, in the eastern part of the city just inside Qingtai Gate, that had recently been used as a residence by the vice prefect might be suitable.[83] The site additionally had a useful and storied history: it was once owned by a vice censor in chief during the Ming and shared a splendid view of Gao Garden, a similarly famous site owned at one time by another high-ranking official, and later absorbed into the shrine.[84] The gardens had been badly damaged in the war, and even though four retired officials had pooled their resources to repair it for use as a villa, they left the city and abandoned the property not long after.[85]

To facilitate creation of a suitably grand shrine, the site was expanded through purchase of adjacent properties and developed with the construction of grand buildings and extensive water works. One of the properties absorbed into the shrine was the neighboring Gao Garden, which eventually was used to house the Bureau to Gather and Investigate the Loyal and Righteous, tasked with investigating "the true stories of those who gave their lives."[86] Because both properties had been damaged in the war, they were available for purchase at a reasonable price. All of the various relatives and descendants of the original owners who could conceivably object to the sale were subject to persuasion, were interested in cash payment, or were out of the province.[87]

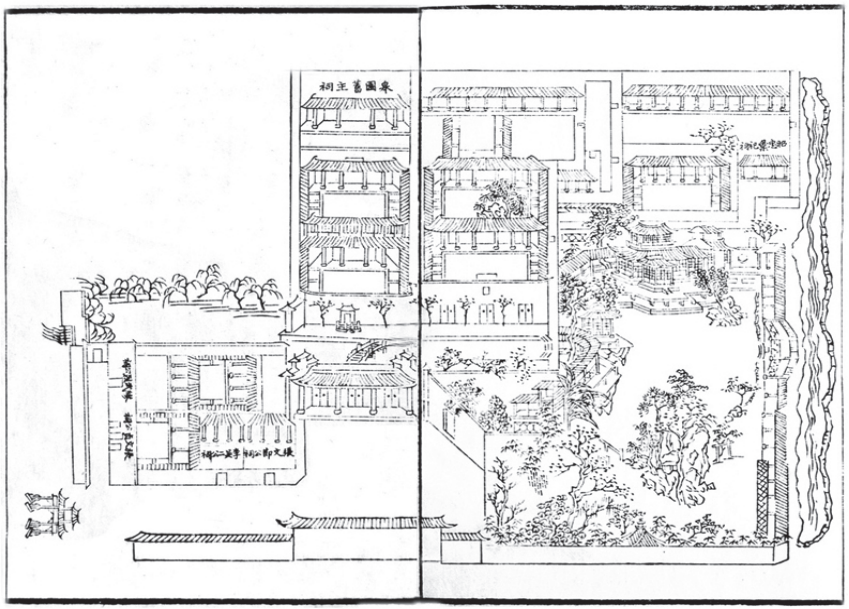


Figure 5.1. The Manifest Loyalty Shrine (Zhaozhong ci), Hangzhou.
SOURCE: Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi (Gazetteer of the Manifest Loyalty Shrine)," in Ding Bing, *Weeping for Hangzhou, 1860 and 1861* (Gengxin qi Hang lu), 3:2b–3a.

The central shrine was framed by smaller structures in which dead officials were individually honored. Sacrifices were carried out twice annually in spring and autumn, in accordance with the statutes. The Zhejiang provincial administration commissioner deputized an official to formally serve as master of ceremonies. The Hangzhou prefectural magistrate and the county magistrates of Renhe and Qiantang (the two counties headquartered at Hangzhou) led the officials and local elders participating in the ritual, which entailed food offerings of mutton, pork, grain, wine, fruit, and vegetables. In a ritual address to the honored dead, the officiant exclaimed that the dead had in life become heroes, and in death become numinous souls. They would thus survive for thousands of generations, as immortal as the River, the Marchmounts, the sun and the stars. Echoing the imperial inscriptions displayed on the site, he proclaims that "those who have given their lives for their country become humane (cheng ren) and choose righteousness (qu yi). Their orthodoxy (zheng qi) serves to guide the virtue of the myriad surnames."[88]

The shrine was strictly divided into sections honoring the categories of loyal dead—officials, gentry, commoners, officials' dependents, gentry-dependents, and commoner wives—in accordance with the substatutes. These were further organized according to administrative unit. With successive requests for enshrinement, the number of tablets proliferated and the shrine grew crowded and disorganized. In the late 1880s, in the context of a renovation, Fan Kuncheng, the editor of the shrine-gazetteer and the director of the philanthropic organization responsible for the shrine's maintenance, hired several men to organize the tablets and cross-check them against the written records in order to ensure proper placement.[89]

An imperial inscription on the main shrine celebrated (or insisted on) the fundamentally orthodox character of the local landscape (hu shan zheng qi), and thus the failure of the Taiping heterodoxy to lay claim to the land. In a set of poems written about the site decades later, one writer contrasts the sorrowful new commemorative purpose of the site with its former use as a pleasure garden.[90] In effect, the shrine in the garden could be read as a metaphor. The city's legendary past as imperial and literati pleasure grounds in this context was overwritten with a new function: to honor the dead.

Constructing a memorial shrine required significant sums of money.[91] Maintaining it further demanded a steady stream of additional resources, particularly to meet the needs generated by the ongoing research to identify new honorees. As a result, underwriting the Manifest Loyalty Shrine in Hangzhou was a complex interaction involving provincial and prefectural officials, the staff of semiofficial bureaus, philanthropists, landowners, and craftsmen navigating and evading financial obligations as the cost and scope of the project expanded. None of this complexity appears in the seamlessly celebratory essays by successive provincial governors; rather, it features in the procedural documents, gentry petitions, and official responses, and in the literary output of local men, all of which are reproduced in the shrine gazetteer edited by Fan Chengkun and included in Ding Bing's compilation, *Weeping for Hangzhou, 1860 and 1861*.

Once decisions regarding funding and management for the project had been made and personnel put in place, the scope of construction began to expand. The prefectural magistrate and the two expectant prefects filed drawings and plans at the governor's office, including samples of wood, noting that it would be nice to improve the site with the addition of an arch to the west of the spirit road. They further requested permission to add several more buildings, including a new main hall, instead of simply using struc-

tures already on the site (which would have to be removed, for a price) and argued for adding an attractive bridge to adorn the pond, and walls to impose order and delineate spaces. These new plans would of course affect the shrine's projected cost. But the work could be done, and the extraordinary cost was justifiable, given the need to honor the province's dead officials, gentry, women, soldiers, and militia men.[92]

In a subsequent document, while noting that further increases in cost had been partially offset through negotiations with the workmen, the project managers argue that because the number of tablets to be installed was larger than anticipated, and indeed larger than could be accommodated in the planned structure, still more money would be needed to complete the project to satisfaction. And they report that once the work was done, disaster struck: careless workmen accidentally set a fire destroying one of the key buildings, occasioning another request for further funds.[93]

Requests for funding from the provincial governor to underwrite construction of individual shrines in honor of dead officials met with similar results: approval from the governor, funding from the bureaus. Ultimately, in 1873 the entire complex, its precise measurements duly reported, was declared tax-exempt in perpetuity and eligible for a state stipend because of its conformity to official regulations.[94] Documents from the late 1880s indicate that maintenance of the shrine was eventually taken over by a local philanthropic organization (shantang) acting under the supervision of the Liang Zhe Salt Controller's Office. The officers of the organization suggested that perhaps government funds might be provided to cover maintenance of shrines dedicated to outsiders, since donations by locals were inspired by native-place sentiment.[95] This signals another line of tension within the processes of postwar reconstruction and commemoration, a fault line exacerbated as time elapsed and the central and provincial governments continued to devolve functions onto organizations that defined their obligations in starkly localist terms.[96]

Though many had a personal interest in honoring the war dead, not all accepted officially mandated structures of commemoration. And not all efforts to obtain honors were successful. An article in *Shenbao* documents a failed attempt to garner honors for a chaste and righteous household servant who died in the rebellion; the attempt to present her case to the bureau foundered in the absence of corroborating evidence from her lineage's hometown.[97] Also, not everyone in the community was eligible; imperial honors were generally reserved for the elite, who also dominated the construction and ritual use of shrines.

Moreover, these sites were used for purposes other than those for which they were intended. In a prohibition issued in late January 1874, not long after completion, the provincial governor proclaimed that the site of the Manifest Loyalty Shrine at Jinya zhuang had been rendered sacred to the memory of the province's dead by virtue of imperial mandate, and through austere and august rituals to comfort their loyal souls. And yet, in spite of this important purpose, "ignorant people" considered this place a playground appropriate for leisure entertainments. The provincial governor further complained that such "ignorant people" hold birthday banquets and gambling parties, perform operas, borrow the buildings to recuperate from illness, inter coffins and hold mourning rites, pick the flowers and cut the branches, dump their garbage, and use the ponds to raise fish to make a living. All of this romping about and wild activity, he notes, has disrupted the intention of honoring the loyal and righteous, and it must be stopped.[98] Clearly there were those in the community who failed to understand the signal importance of official commemoration and viewed sacred space with an eye to other purposes.

Even the managers of the shrine may have seen alternative potential in the site. Tax exemption could be quite beneficial, if the property could be made to generate income. As was noted by the provincial governor in his 1874 tirade against a litany of alternative uses, aquaculture in the shrine's ponds seemed to be a source of particular tension. From the outset, the managers of the shrine viewed the pond as a potential source of rental income, seeking ostensibly to generate a bit of extra money to fund repairs. Officials, perhaps suspecting that the managers were misusing funds, argued that money for repairs was to come from the annual stipend and the tax exemption, noting that the pond should, according to a precedent established by the devout former owner, be a pond for releasing living things. Fish farming would be inconsistent with this heritage, and contrary to the spirit of the shrine. In spite of repeated prohibitions, fish farmers, including both soldiers and farmers, continued to pull fish from the pond. The Bureau to Gather and Investigate the Loyal received rents totaling 13 *wen* per year for fishing rights and sought to have that income confirmed. In 1888, the acting Hangzhou prefect reprimanded the bureau and ordered erection of a stele on the site reiterating the prohibition, reminding the community that although it was acceptable to add fish to the pond, removing them constituted stealing and would be severely punished.[99] The need for repeated injunctions against fish farming suggests that not everyone appreciated the shrine as a sacred space in which to reflect on and remember their debt to

the dynasty, or that the need to raise money with this tax-exempt resource was simply more pressing than the sacred task of commemoration.

A changing political landscape commanded different expectations with regard to manifestation of loyalty. In an essay about the Manifest Loyalty Shrine at Hangzhou written in the summer of 1895, Zhang Binglin (1868–1936), a Zhejiang scholar later famous for his anti-Manchu activism and writings, uses the shrine and the dead honored therein to criticize his contemporaries for their apathy during the recent Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). He opens his essay with a provocative statement, at odds with the earlier ideal that to die for the dynasty was the epitome of loyalty: "To serve the emperor and not die in doing so; to defend territory and not give one's life—these are the point of loyalty."[100] A worthy subject serves the dynasty in life; the worthless go over to the rebels. A moral person who knows shame identifies with the worthy ones and in some cases dies and perhaps receives honors. By his logic, death and honors are second best; it would be better to be worthy and survive to serve. He trenchantly observes that during the recent war with Japan, few generals and local elites expressed their loyalty by dying for the dynasty.

Moreover, ordinary people simply went about their business without altering their daily routine. He contrasts what he has seen in the past year with the bloody events of several decades earlier. Although the people of his home province of Zhejiang may have been less heroic than the Hunanese in the War against the Southern Rebels, they still compared favorably, in his view, to the apathetic people of the present day.[101] He explains that the rites honoring the Zhejiang war dead continued into his own time; many names had been collected of people who died rather than submit to the rebels. He notes that even after thirty years, fathers and elders weep and wail whenever they speak of the war, tears soaking their sleeves. The younger generation has missed the point and thus an opportunity for action; their emotions remain unmoved by the sacrifices of the dead of their home province. They carouse at a shrine that should have meaning for them—stealing pleasure in a time of national crisis thereby shaming their ancestors.

In this context, Zhang argues that the Manifest Loyalty Shrine in Hangzhou is not simply a site for honoring the dynasty's dead. It is also, more importantly, a site at which to inspire provincial patriotism, which he argues is foundational to identification with the nation.[102] He also hints at the lingering emotional power of the war for an older generation, even as he appropriates those feelings in service to a political cause in the present. For

Zhang Binglin, the shrine could mobilize the people of his own province and by extension the nation—represented here, perhaps somewhat ambivalently, by the dynasty—to action in a time of crisis.[103]

After the calamitous failure of efforts to reform the dynasty in 1898, Zhang went into exile in Taiwan, by then a Japanese colony as a result of China's defeat in 1895. Not long thereafter he returned to China and emerged as a leading advocate of the anti-Qing revolutionary cause.

Cataloguing the Martyrs

Production of books listing local martyrs seems to have been associated with (if not caused by) the emergence of hometown Manifest Loyalty (and other) shrines in the Jiaqing period, and the rise in local investigative studies through the Daoguang period (1821–1850).[104] During the early nineteenth century, there appears to have been general interest, for example, in uncovering "lost" and "forgotten" martyrs from earlier periods, such as the Qing conquest and the factional conflicts of the Ming dynasty. The names of these recovered martyrs appear in gazetteers or are listed in compilations cataloguing the loyal and righteous that predated the Taiping rebellion, for example the *Jiangyin zhongyi enjing lu* (A record of the merit bestowed upon the loyal and righteous of Jiangyin), in six *juan*, first published in the Daoguang period, which honored martyrs from battles against coastal pirates in the late Ming, and the hundred thousand civilians from Jiangyin killed during the Qing conquest in 1645.[105]

By the Tongzhi period, however, compilations featuring materials related to local martyrs were focusing on the war dead from the Taiping rebellion. Such works in many cases were explicitly sponsored by the Bureaus to Gather and Investigate the Loyal and Righteous.[106] Others were produced by individuals with passionate or antiquarian interest in recording the names of the dead. In both cases, publication was sponsored with funds raised locally, in many cases with the names of contributors (and the amount they contributed) recorded in an appendix. Some of these books participate in, or manipulate, the rhetoric of dynastic honors, referencing the Manifest Loyalty shrines and the Board of Rites. Some lavish praise on the military celebrities and provincial officials who helped win the war and carried the peace—specifically Zeng Guofan—reflecting thereby a reconfigured understanding of political authority under the Qing.[107] Other collections parse out a new relationship between state and subject through remembrance, or

assert the loyalty of formerly occupied communities, or elevate the status of editors and compilers through their involvement in a semiofficial project, or seek meaning in senseless death by identifying lost relatives and neighbors with a formally honorable cause.

Some of these books are beautifully produced, with elegant fonts, fine paper, and stylish designs. Many have elaborate "paratextual" apparatuses: prefaces, reprinted edicts, and detailed statements of their own editorial principles. Others are quite simple, even crude, in their design.[108] Most use the language of official honors to translate victims into martyrs, death into a gesture of loyalty, and a wretched crisis into an opportunity for absolute moral triumph. Commemorative publications attracted the participation of the local and official elite, whether as editors or gatherers of information; they were published either under official auspices or at private or communal initiative. One member of the Ye family, whose history Joseph Esherick traces in *Ancestral Leaves*, compiled and published a list of martyred officials, gentry, and women in the aftermath of the Taiping and Nian rebellions.[109]

Publications produced by Bureaus for the Gathering and Investigation of the Loyal and Righteous reflected the semiofficial affiliation of the sponsoring institution and thus involved both local elites and provincial governments. The editors of bureau publications often reproduced the imperial edicts that linked their projects to imperial institutions such as the Board of Rites and the Manifest Loyalty shrines as part of the front matter. These books thus clarified and disseminated state policies regarding official commemoration and compensation for the benefit of those interested in obtaining similar honors for their own family members, while also partaking in the prestige that metropolitan institutions ostensibly conveyed.[110] The editors thus represented themselves as intermediaries between center and periphery, and consequently as agents of postwar reintegration. They expressed hope that extra volumes would be sent to the villages for further dissemination of procedural information to the descendants of those who died in order that they might eventually submit dossiers, and to "publicize the truth" about recent events to a wider audience.[111] Books such as the *Record of the Loyal and Righteous Gathered and Investigated in Liangjiang* (Liangjiang caifang zhongyi zhuanlu) thus cast the commemorative project, spatially and temporally, deeper into the locale, and outward into the future. Through these publications, the editors and staff asserted their own ongoing participation in the state's commemorative project, while also seeming to use their association with the project to bolster their own status locally.

The dynasty's failure to suppress the rebellion and to manage mushrooming social problems notwithstanding, the mechanisms and manifestations of state authority retained enough cachet that some among the "impartial local elders and gentry" embraced certain state symbols in commemorating dead family members and neighbors. The editors of commemorative volumes, whether directly employed by the semiofficial bureaus or not, make insistent reference upward to their own participation in a large and highly bureaucratic system of state honors.[112]

Gu Shishi, a former bureau employee from Taicang, organized his privately published *A Record of the Names of the Loyal and Righteous of Taicang and Zhenyang* (Taizhen zhongyi xingshi lu) according to the date that materials were submitted to request official honors. State honors structured the book: in cases where the entire family died together, if the request for honors was submitted jointly, the men and women appear together. If the request was filed separately, then the men and women are listed in the book's separate sections for men and women.[113] From this we can see that the local bureaus and their emulators continued at least in principle to privilege central institutions in their organization and presentation of commemorative materials, even as they relied in many cases on private donations, rather than official funds, to pay for publication.[114] Nevertheless, in spite of this rhetorical emphasis on the center, it seems that Gu Shishi's book was printed as a commemorative volume intended to be collected by ordinary gentry and commoners interested in honoring the local dead in their own homes.[115]

The local orientation of many compilations, whether published under bureau auspices or through private subscription, meant that such texts had the effect of rewriting the locale as a center of loyal self-sacrifice populated by men and women motivated, by a threat to the dynasty, to suicide or death in battle. Many evoke the particularly virulent nature of the rebel threat in their locale, thereby highlighting the spectacular merits of the martyred local dead by placing them against a tragic and devastated background.[116] They also narrate local events through the lens of imperial honors and meritorious deeds, focusing on the victims' mind-set at the moment of death to reveal the depth of hometown loyalty, and making the victims legible through the rhetoric of state conferred ranks and honors. In the Yangzhou case, we find works such as the *Record of the Martyrs of Yangzhou* (Yangcheng xunnan lu) and its sequel the *Record of the Martyrs of Yangzhou Continued* (Yangcheng xunnan xu lu), as well as the *Record of the Loyal and Righteous Gathered and*

Investigated in Liangjiang and the relevant sections of the 1874 prefectural gazetteer, all of which collect and present the names and deeds of mostly low-level examination elites from Yangzhou who died in the rebellion.[117] Two typical entries:

> Rank nine lower class, Gao Jiyuan received orders to form a militia. When the rebels entered the city, he brought militia braves and engaged in street battles. Wounded, he sacrificed his life. His mother, Wang shi, who had preserved her chastity for twenty years and had already received official recognition stopped eating and died.
>
> Expectant magistrate Wang Chenglin: in 1853, when the rebels tried to coerce him into service, he refused to submit and died with his wife Ba.[118]

In each case, the authors provide a name, a status rank (whether by examination or purchase), and evidence that the victim committed suicide or died in loyal defense of the city. Careful tabulation of rank is directly related to the state's policy on compensation and honors under which such determinations were made on the basis of rank, even as the language of self-sacrifice, participation in militias, refusal to compromise, and righteous patriotism all marked the local dead as martyrs, loyal subjects, and local exemplars among the elite.[119] Senseless violence was thus translated into moral action and rewarded, and the individual was translated into a righteous martyr sacrificing on behalf of community and empire. By extension, the community too was translated from ambivalent occupied territory into a land of die-hard loyalists.

Despite placing state institutions and rhetoric front and center in their organizing principles, the bureau and other local operatives working within the state's commemorative apparatus published material on those officially deemed ineligible for state honors. The state may have provided the commemorative mandate and symbolism, but the local dead ignored under the official system still commanded their share of editorial attention. The editors of the *Record of the Loyal and Righteous Gathered and Investigated in Liangjiang* note that "in the record, among the gentry and commoners, there are those whose deaths merit inclusion but who did not receive formal compensation and recognition. For these we have also added biographies in order to celebrate them in accordance with the facts."[120] The editor of the *Biographies of the Loyal and Righteous of Liangjiang* (Liangjiang zhongyi zhuan),

who explicitly sought to improve upon the *Record of the Loyal and Righteous Gathered and Investigated in Liangjiang* (Liangjiang caifang zhongyi zhuan lu) model, comments that

> now in the crooked and winding lanes and villages, ordinary men and women and gentry folk have made their names in death together. Fundamentally, the gentry have been honored with rites by the court. Their deaths have brought honor to them and even to their descendants. However, the ordinary men and women have not been treated comparably. Thus, their deeds were difficult, but the traces are easily eradicated. If we broaden the perspective and thereby try to encourage others, then feelings of reverence for the emperor and closeness to their superiors will stir spontaneously among the benighted and ignorant.[121]

Paradoxically, then, by going beyond the framework of official commemoration, a higher political purpose can be served. By honoring those excluded from official honors, local commemorators ostensibly sought to increase loyalty to the emperor, and perhaps, by the logic of reciprocity, to highlight the emperor's obligation to deal benevolently with the locale.

In a similar vein, Gu Shishi, editor of the commemorative volume honoring those who died in Taicang Department and Zhenyang County (both administered under Suzhou prefecture), opted to list martyred children too young to qualify for state honors, in every case indicating their status by marking them as "juvenile."[122] In the author's afterward to his volume, Gu tells his readers that he participated in the compilation activities of the local Loyal and Righteous Bureau, which, in addition to applying for imperial recognition and emoluments, also hired local men to compile "Manifest Loyalty Records" as an "assurance to the present and for transmission to the future."[123] After having worked on the bureau project, he decided to compile *A Record of the Names of the Loyal and Righteous of Taicang and Zhenyang* (Tai Zhen zhongyi xingshi lu), his personal selection of biographies based on the local "Manifest Loyalty Records," in order to remember its contents, since he could not keep a copy of the larger book at home (it seems to have had the status of a ritual artifact to be housed in the county and prefectural schools).[124] Thus he suggests the limitations of official commemoration: one might want to remember dead neighbors, friends, and neighbors at home, in a distinctly unofficial space, and in a totally nonofficial capacity, even if the format and rhetoric of remembrance still followed state-inspired generic conventions.[125]

Wang Zuyu, Gu's nephew by marriage and the author of the preface to this collection, offers an alternative interpretation of the book's purposes. He begins by narrating events in his home region: the fall of Suzhou in 1860, the failure of official troops and the local militia to arrive, a decisive battle won by the rebels, and the subsequent massacre of local residents. We thus see a sketch suggesting official complicity in local catastrophe, which then cuts quickly to Qing victory and establishment of the Bureau to Honor the Loyal and Righteous by the provincial authorities. He concludes as follows, endorsing the kind of commemorative division of labor (and moral responsibility) that he saw as embodied by his uncle's project:

> And so the honoring of the loyal and rewarding the righteous is a matter for the court. Improving the customs and inspiring the minds of people is the responsibility of the Confucians [*Ru*]. The evils of the Taiping rebels infiltrated and spread for more than ten years and poisoned more than half the realm. Those with knowledge argue that its origins came about because of the failings of scholarship and the lack of clarity in the project of civilization. This harmed the customs and hearts of the people and led to the rise of the rebels and then to the war. Thanks to the intervention of several wise and great leaders, the realm was restored to order and the masses have returned to prosperity. This is what chaos and misfortune is like! I have thus especially written of the origins and processes of disaster in my home region in order that later people will discuss this age and know its affairs and they will see it as a warning and have fear in their hearts and handle themselves appropriately.[126]

Although Wang Zuyu identifies the task of commemoration with the court, he credits unnamed "wise and great leaders"—clearly Zeng Guofan and his fellow regional army commanders—with saving the realm and returning the populace to some measure of prosperity. Through commemoration, he appears to argue, we can have a process of critique and reaffirmation, upholding, though contingently, an old order, increasingly dependent on an intermediary set of power holders.

A similar image of Zeng Guofan as dynastic savior appears in the preface of the somewhat later collection, the *Record of Things Heard about the Loyal and Righteous* (Zhongyi jiwen lu). The preface, by Nanjing native Zong Yuanhan, retraces Qing history in order to explain the book's commemorative project within a broad temporal framework. The compiler tells us that, inspired by heroic deeds and spectacular acts of self sacrifice, he pursued his commemorative project with ever greater bursts of diligence, in spite of

diminishing health. He observes that for three reigns, those of the Kangxi (1661–1722), Yongzheng (1722–1735), and Qianlong (1736–1796) emperors, the Qing represented the pinnacle of imperial virtue and might, surpassing all previous dynasties in its achievements and producing several generations of brilliant talents among its subjects.[127]

During the Daoguang (1820–1850) period, by contrast, the dynasty encountered issues pertaining to maritime affairs (euphemism for the Opium War) and in responding to them experienced setbacks and a minor decline. In describing the Xianfeng (1850–1861) period, the preface author turns to florid rhetoric, which, unpacked, points to disordered prosecution of the war. He notes that "men of will glared in anger and sighed bitterly that the legacy of our ancestors would be lost completely through a lack of respect for the dynasty."[128] Suddenly, as if in response, a great hero rose out of Hunan (clearly Zeng Guofan). The author praises the bold troops who strode out of central China, gripping swords and walking through fire, risking death at every turn. Effusively, he notes that even without such commemorative projects as the *Record of Things Heard about the Loyal and Righteous*, the marvelous achievements of these heroes would have attracted the attention of their age. He concludes his historical overview by again asserting a link to the High Qing and the obligation that the past engendered in the present, noting that thanks to Zeng's intervention "the legacy bequeathed to heaven and earth by the ancestors [i.e., Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong] was injured but not destroyed."[129]

Thus Zeng Guofan is again interpolated into the mix, here as a successor to the High Qing rulers and thus their embodiment, heir, and even the latter-day executor of their commemorative models. Zeng also figures between the contemporary court and its local commemorators as the true (new) object of loyalty and arbiter of commemoration. With his account of obligations originating in the High Qing and carried forward by Zeng Guofan, Wang uses commemoration of the loyal dead, placed on a broader historical canvas, to articulate a new relationship between dynasty and subject.

Even when celebrating loyalty to the dynasty, some editors preferred to develop their own rubrics, explicitly distinguishing their projects from those produced under official or semiofficial auspices. Such works might then receive imperial recognition, displacing officially endorsed or commissioned projects. A beautifully produced commemorative volume honoring the martyrs who died when Nanjing fell to the rebels in 1853 asserts the priority of extrabureaucratic commemoration. *A Reference Guide to the Loyal Martyrs*

(Zhonglie beikao), published in 1877, is an eight-volume collection, each volume "named" with a character in a patriotic couplet. Compiled by Gao Detai, an expectant secretary in the central drafting office and student by inheritance and himself the descendant of martyrs, the *Reference Guide* has remarkably broad coverage, with more than ten thousand named individuals accounted for, and subsections devoted to such exceptional categories as "sojourners" and "monks" and even "outcasts," "slaves" and "loyal prostitutes."[130] Operating outside the institutional structure provided by the bureau, the editor received no official funding but relied instead on private donations.[131] This was seen by the preface writers as advantageous, because it allowed the author and his colleagues to produce authentic, uncompromised work.

The *Reference Guide* can be read as a self-consciously extrabureaucratic view of state honors—another testament, surely, to the rising power of local elites. The book purports to offer an alternative resource to those interested in locating information regarding their deceased relatives. The author provides careful citation of all official documents and dossiers, and along with lists of names and individual biographies we find long sections devoted to enumeration of official honors. According to one preface writer, the author embarked on this project to offset bureaucratic problems encountered by other survivors and descendants who sought to find their relatives' records. The preface writer notes that the official publication of the bureau investigating the loyal and righteous included only one-third or one-half of those who died in Nanjing in 1853, and a similar number of sojourners who died in the city and natives who died elsewhere. The complete documentation was housed in cabinets in the governor-general's yamen. Because of the vast quantity of material housed there, those seeking information were often disappointed, even after long delays. Materials pertaining to women were even more difficult to find, particularly if they were identified only by surname.[132] Gao Detai borrowed all of the documents from the governor-general's office and worked with a team of researchers to impose order on the unwieldy materials, and a team of proofreaders to check for errors against the original documents. The first team also gathered further information through oral interviews with eyewitnesses among their relatives and contacts. The results, according to the preface writer, were "glorious," and of "adequate sincerity to move ghosts and spirits."[133]

The local men who sponsored and edited this collection took enormous pride in their achievement, observing that it surpassed, even superseded, previous official and semiofficial projects like the gazetteer section on the

loyal and righteous and the bureau publications. They decided that the project deserved official recognition. In 1878, a petition was submitted on their behalf by the magistrates of Shangyuan and Jiangning counties (the city of Nanjing was county seat for both), who enumerated the book's strengths and submitted it to the Board of Rites for review, in hopes that they might be permitted to distribute the book to county schools to be stored as a permanent record to "promote and elevate hidden loyalty."[134] The authorities not only approved of their request, granting them permission to deposit copies of the book in the prefectural school and the county schools of all of the subsidiary counties, but also requested six additional copies for the provincial authorities.[135] The commemorative project had been taken over by local elites, and the center affirmed what they had already accomplished.

Duanmu Cai, the author of a preface to the *Reference Guide*, recalls a visit to the Manifest Loyalty Shrine in his hometown of Jiangning in 1875, and he contrasts the magnificent order and organization contained in the *Reference Guide* with the disorder and confusion that shamefully prevailed in the Manifest Loyalty Shrine in his hometown of Nanjing. "Alas," he notes, "There are truly ghosts and spirits layered in among the world of men. If we approach them with absolute sincerity and illuminate and penetrate their affairs, then they cannot malign us. Perhaps this is also a message for those who govern?"[136] His message, then, was that the dynasty had mismanaged its own commemorative projects. From his vantage point, and indeed, from the vantage point of many Jiangnan men, the honoring of the dynasty's dead was, like many other matters, best left in local hands.

Rededication

The project of honoring those who died during the Taiping War lasted nearly until the end of the dynasty. Governors of Zhejiang continued to request enshrinement and honors for those who died during the War against the Southern Rebels, filing fifty-six such memorials by 1895. Moreover, compilers such as Ding Bing and his associates documented the multiple dimensions of local war memory during the 1890s. Many collections of commemorative materials were published in the 1880s and 1890s, as communities continued to grapple with what they had seen and experienced.

Published in 1893, the *Biographies of the Loyal and Righteous of Liangjiang* (Liangjiang zhongyi zhuan) is a massive compilation in forty *juan* of

biographies of Manchu garrison personnel, military officers, and civilians from Jiangsu, Jiangxi, and Anhui.[137] Undertaken first by Fang Zongcheng, a survivor and eyewitness to the war from Tongcheng County, Anhui, and completed by his younger student at the end of the century, this compilation offers standard-history-style biographies of major figures and brief but often gripping accounts of dying civilians, including women, proclaiming commitment to the dynasty and the moral values it embodied. For example, we find Fang shi of Tongcheng, who mocks the rebels when they try to send her to the Women's House (Jiemei guan), saying: "I am a gentry-man's wife. I know only death. I know not this so-called Women's House!" The rebels then became angry and killed her.[138] The preface, by Liangjiang Governor-General Liu Kunyi, offers a stylized history of the rebellion, narrating a three-step trajectory: with Liangjiang at the epicenter of a ten-year catastrophe, commemoration at the heart of regional recovery, and the completed compilation project as a lodging place for the myriad loyal souls.[139]

By contrast, the preface of an abridged version of this work, stripped completely of the chapters on Manchu garrisons, and with compressed accounts of civilians, published with a preface dated 1902 under the title *Jiang biao zhong lue*, places the war and its martyrs in a much larger historical frame. Indeed, in the preface, by Chen Danran (1859–1930), one of the original compilers (but obviously by 1902 at a different stage in his political consciousness), the historical frame becomes so large that they disappear almost completely inside an epic narration of China's political history. He begins with human beings struggling against the birds and beasts for survival. Heroes defend the people and are recognized as leaders with territory to rule and defend. This then evolved into the imperial system of the Yellow Emperor, the Shang, and the Zhou, who unified the collected states from the bottom up. The nation loved the ruler deeply, and this bound the polity together. There was no threat of foreign invasion and no risk of war or dynastic overthrow, problems that, according to Chen, first emerged in the Warring States period, with the rise of feudalism.[140] As the feudal states became cruel and violent and forced their people to abandon agriculture and take up arms, they expanded their territory but distorted human relationships. This set China on an irrevocable course toward chaos, civil war, and vulnerability to foreign invasion lasting until the present day. He exclaims, "Alas, the mutual hatred and cruelty of our Yellow Race has lasted for two thousand years up until the present!"[141] In this context, he makes his only reference to the recent war, observing that

when the will to love the ruler arises, it can truly serve as a talisman against national extinction:

> The chaos of the Long Hairs and the Nian tormented the Jianghuai region. All at once the benevolent and wise could not shirk from willingness to die for the race! At this point great heroes came out in glory and suppressed the chaos in the southeast. This was similar enough in spirit to be compared with the men who gathered together in competing with the beasts and formed nations![142]

Chen thus argues that the defeat of the Taiping was grounded in a more primitive, and more authentically grassroots political form, based on a familial (*zu*) model rather than a state or dynastic (*guo*) model. And he concludes that the risk of national extinction may in fact benefit the nation by restoring the great, pre-feudal heritage. Clearly writing in the post-1898, post-Boxer moment, Chen deploys the racial and political language of the early twentieth century in ambiguous ways: Are the Manchus to be understood as part of the Yellow Race? The garrisons have disappeared from his collection, suggesting certain ambivalence or even racial animus. He seeks to imagine a stable polity without overthrowing the system, and he is clearly influenced by the notions of self-government, grassroots organization, and social evolution that circulated among the educated of this historical moment.

Oddly—or maybe not so oddly, given the intimate connections between state and commemoration—a volume ostensibly honoring the martyrs of the mid-century war serves as the vehicle for his reformist political vision. The commemoration of disaster at the local level, in shrines and in books, brings us, seemingly inevitably, to discourses on the fate of the nation. Here, from tremendous loss of life, we get contingent rededication by way of provincial militarists who restored (temporarily) someone's faith in the center, or perhaps more accurately someone's desire for a center. Rites and institutions honoring the war dead continued to be invoked as a talisman of centralizing legitimacy into the twentieth century.

New dead were honored using old forms, as events rendered the dynasty first irrelevant and then obsolete. Not long after the 1911 Revolution, whose leaders claimed the Taiping movement as an anti-Manchu antecedent to their cause, the Manifest Loyalty Shrines honoring the old dynasty's dead were repurposed to honor Great Han Martyrs who had died for the new Chinese Republic. Sacrifices were to be held twice a year, on the anniver-

saries of the Wuchang Uprising (October 10) and the abdication of the last Qing emperor (February 12).[143] Imperial sites and rites thus were recycled in accordance with a new ritual calendar, and in service to a new regime. That regime was born of a revolution fueled by anti-Manchu sentiments and orchestrated by a Cantonese revolutionary who strongly identified with the Heavenly King, Hong Xiuquan. In the context of Sun Yat-sen's anti-Qing activism, the Taiping came to be identified as nationalist revolutionaries and were incorporated into the historical narrative of China's political modernization. And the former dynasty's loyal and righteous dead, once so carefully curated by local elites, went forgotten.

CHAPTER SIX

Loss

Formal commemoration, whether inscribed in stone, constructed from wood, or printed with ink, imposed structure on the brutal disorder of wartime experience, and moral clarity on often ambivalent decisions and allegiances. These commemorative forms had at least the imprimatur of state sanction, even when the impetus came almost entirely from local elites, or when the substance subtly contested or deliberately subverted official standards. The litanies of names and stylized biographies centered on righteous deaths promised certainty, honor, and comfort and marked a boundary between the terrible world of then and the restoration that was supposed to be now. And yet, the boundary between past and present, however carefully marked and patrolled, remained porous. Disorder persisted in both real life and in memory. Broken and abandoned buildings remained a feature of urban landscapes; fields were tended by migrants or were left untilled. The presence of the dead could be felt as profound absence and loss, even as relationships might persist posthumously, mediated by ancestral rites and offerings.

Many survivors recorded their wartime experiences in memoirs, diaries, poetry, and other genres; some of these were published before the turn of the twentieth century (evidently out of an abiding interest in the emotional

consequences of recent catastrophe), others were squirreled away in manuscript for decades. Such writings could provide moral edification, or even literary entertainment, or they might serve as personal talismans against forgetting. This chapter looks in particular at one man's postwar efforts to remember his mother. In a collection of fragments, he documented and publicized his personal pain in relation to the public honors bestowed upon her by the Qing state. In writing (and in print), this author exalted his own grief beyond and above the absolute virtue of exemplary loyalty.

A Grieving Son

During the winter of 1880, Zhang Guanglie, who had deliberately changed his personal name to Guanglie, or "Illuminate the Martyr," composed the preface to *A Record of 1861* (Xinyou ji), a compilation of materials honoring his mother, Zhang Yao shi, whose murder at the hands of a Taiping soldier he had witnessed as a child of eight *sui* (seven years) nearly two decades earlier.[1] He signed the preface from a building whose name evoked his status as a filial son in a state of inappropriately prolonged mourning; his formal funerary obligations had long since been fulfilled. The building was located on the grounds of his garden, "The Martyr's Garden" (Lie yuan), a site chosen for its proximity to the place of his mother's death and laden with literary, physical, and emotional references to his distress. Zhang's adult name and that of his garden both orient his identity around childhood loss and his mother's status as one of the loyalty martyrs whose wartime deaths had been dignified with state honors and enshrinement. These names signal an important feature of his book: the juxtaposition of his own personal pain with the dynasty's conferral of official honors on the worthy dead.

We know little about Zhang Guanglie other than what is contained in *A Record of 1861*. His name does not appear in any of the conventional biographical dictionaries; nor do any other works by him surface in the standard catalogues. However, his name does appear several times in the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao*, mainly on lists connecting him to an honorably failed examination attempt and documenting his status as an expectant official.[2] These disconnected references indicate that during the ten-year period between the first and third editions of the *Record of 1861*, as a man in his late twenties, Zhang Guanglie both remembered his mother and sought bureaucratic employment, mainly through purchase and patronage. He was, for example, dispatched to Hunan as an expectant official, probably

by purchase, in late 1881 or early 1882, for his name can be found on a long list of men sent to other provinces in anticipation of appointments.[3] During the summer of 1883, the former governor of Zhejiang, a Hunan man and former Hanlin academician named Tan Zhongling, by then serving as governor-general of Shaanxi and Gansu, recommended Zhang, among others, for promotion to official status on the basis of his moral excellence. Tan's petition was subsequently approved.[4]

In the late spring of 1887, Zhang, still formally an expectant assistant magistrate, reported for work as an official supervisor of the telegraph office in Suzhou.[5] In both cases, official recognition aligns Zhang with mechanisms for patronage and upward mobility created by the war; connections to provincial power centers could afford opportunities outside an examination system diminished by both corruption and competition. He also clearly encountered new technologies; the telegraph office at Suzhou handled official communication and provided local information to the newspaper in Shanghai that announced his new position. None of this appears in *A Record of 1861*; there is a near-total disjuncture between the sparse resume assembled from the newspaper and the man consumed by grief revealed in his own compilation of memories and official documents.

Additional biographical information is scattered through the *Record of 1861*, mixed in among evocative details. We learn that Zhang was born into a family with scholarly and official aspirations in Hangzhou.[6] His father had a military degree, probably purchased, and as of 1857 was serving in a (purchased) position in Guangzhou, leaving his wife to manage the household. Zhang Guanglie invests this marital separation with tremendous importance, identifying it as a primary cause of his mother's death, "the origin of the disaster."[7] The Zhang family derived its income from rents and from the operations of various unspecified businesses, which, on the eve of the first rebel assault on the city in 1860, were generating less-than-sufficient income to sustain them, and which failed utterly to support the family during the extended siege of the city in 1861. Still, they evidently maintained a sizable home on Cistern Alley in the prefectural city, large enough to engender concern that first the garrison troops and then the rebels would see them as wealthy and thus as potentially valuable targets for looting. On one occasion, they hired a neighbor to lock the house from the outside and post a sign reading "So and so has already moved to such and such a place," in order that marauding Qing troops would assume that the house was no longer occupied.[8] And they made the ultimately fatal decision to seek refuge

in the home of a less prosperous neighbor because "the walls of this house are tall and heavy. When the rebels see them they will recognize that [the inhabitants] are wealthy."[9]

Zhang portrays a childhood spent within the walls of a family compound in the company of siblings and servants, studying under his mother's tutelage.[10] He locates his childhood experience, prior to and including his mother's murder, in relation to the house in Cistern Alley where he spent most of his childhood, particularly but not exclusively, in an essay dealing with their home and in his treatment of the Martyr's Garden.[11] He suffered from a skin condition, perhaps eczema, which oozed and peeled and led others to mock him as "snakeskin boy." His mother, he recalls, assured him that the patches and spots of flaking skin made him special, and in retrospect he treasures the physical marks as a sign of his difference, "no less than golden chestnuts," that only she appreciated.[12] Guanglie had five older siblings. He seems to have been especially close to his sisters. In a vividly described fragment, he tells how during the siege of Hangzhou, the girls stole ham from the kitchen, and "saying that they needed to light incense," they took him upstairs where he furtively ate the ham behind his hand in front of the Buddha.[13]

Terrifying events figure prominently to frame his life experience, even as unceasing filial devotion to his mother frames his self-representation. These memories are visceral in their description. He recalls hunger during the rebel siege of Hangzhou. He and his siblings ate only tree bark, hops, chaff and husks, and horse feed—noisily quarreling over and then devouring a single jar of pickled olives found early one morning in a dusty room. He recalls how, as a child, he had overheard a servant woman say that the price of the horse feed they had been eating was more than ten times the price of white rice in normal times.[14] On another occasion, the cook came into the room as the children were squabbling and said, "Last night there was a starving person leaning on the door who died. Shall we have the neighbor hack off the flesh of the starved person to sell or ask them to remove it? Mother was horrified and said: 'Selling human flesh?' The cook responded, 'Already three days ago I saw him holding his knife.' "[15] The corpse on the doorstep of a starving family serves as the center of a tableau, simultaneously real, intimate, and moralistic. The details bring the scene to life: the sounds of children quarrelling, the neighbor wielding his knife, his mother's revulsion.

And of course, he repeatedly returns to the life-altering and terrifying moment of his mother's murder by a Taiping soldier, offering new details with

each retelling. He reveals the fates of his siblings in the various iterations of his mother's story: two older brothers were captured by the rebels and never returned, a sister committed suicide, a second sister whose fate remained unknown, and a third brother who followed the rebels for a time after his capture and later returned to Hangzhou married and lived apparently in some disgrace, as his youngest sibling served as ritual heir for all of the dead uncles who had no surviving children. Zhang himself was rescued by an elderly servant, and, after more than a month wandering the roads of eastern Zhejiang, begging for food from Taiping officials, he was reunited with his father to be reared in Guangdong. Sorrow serves as the dominant motif: grief for a childhood and family members lost in the cataclysmic events of the war. Zhang returned to Hangzhou from Guangzhou in 1868, and evidently he spent the next decades tending to his deceased relatives, and developing, in writing, his persona as bereft son.

A Book of Fragments

In the preface to *A Record of 1861*, Zhang tells his readers that, troubled by painful thoughts, he tearfully composed a series of "grief-laden essays" recalling his mother; gathered materials related to her death, burial, and reception of state honors; and compiled them into a book. In his book, Zhang presents himself as an obsessively filial son suffering the lingering effects of his mother's violent death. He juxtaposes his own essays, which include seemingly intimate domestic details, repeated descriptions of the instant of violent rupture, and accounts of the physical and emotional distortions engendered by lasting grief, with the documents that bestowed state honors on his relatives, thereby translating them into heroic symbols of eternal values, and ostensibly investing the unspeakable horror of their loss with orderly political meanings.

A Record of 1861 was published at least three times and in at least three places, Hangzhou (1880), in a military camp east of Beijing (1884), and Suzhou (1890), expanding to include new materials with each reissuing. Although (as is typical of Chinese books from this period) we have no information on size of print runs or anticipated readership, the fact that many copies of this book have survived seems suggestive of significant circulation.[16] At least one contemporary selected Zhang as one of several writers to represent local experience: An excerpt from Zhang's book appears in *Weeping for Hangzhou in 1860 and 1861* (Gengxin qi Hang lu),

a late-nineteenth-century collection of official and eyewitness accounts of the fall of Hangzhou to the Taiping rebels compiled by Ding Bing, the city's chief philanthropist and curator of local memory.[17] A very brief mention of Zhang's mother's death appears in the *Qing Draft History* (Qing shi gao), so stripped down that but for the names it is barely recognizable as the same story.[18]

A Record of 1861 defies generic categorization. It is neither memoir nor biography, and yet it includes elements of both. It documents the pathos of a man who cannot escape from a childhood event to which he obsessively returns in text as an adult.[19] And it tells the story of the author's mother and her death, repeatedly, with deliberate emphasis on her attributes as both individual and exemplar. It is explicitly a book about dual processes of commemoration (formal, orderly, and state-sanctioned) and memory (chaotic and personal). Its interest is as a case study, as an example specifically of a post–Taiping War attempt to come to terms with wartime loss and destruction, in ways that both accept and undermine the structures of official commemoration described in the previous chapter. The evocative power of Zhang's book resides in its use of particular and disconnected moments and layering of sensory details: sounds, sights, and tactile sensations.[20] Eccentric texts like this one have had no place in a historiography that for the most part has effaced subjectivity and pain and instead has emphasized ideology and revolutionary progress.[21] And thus such texts can offer a useful corrective by forcing us to confront the personal suffering overwritten by political imperatives. We intuitively identify with Zhang Guanglie's loss and his pain, and we readily imagine our own feelings were we, or our children, to stand in his place.

The book begins with Zhang's mother's death presented in a variety of contexts: the imperial decree approving official honors, an account "tearfully written" of the inevitable chain of events leading to her death, her genealogy, descriptions of the family home, the state of her corpse, the time of death (although he notes that the time may have been misremembered).[22] These categories echo criteria found in handbooks for legal specialists that provided coroners and others with language appropriate for describing murder cases. Effective testimony ought to include description of the event, dates and places, state of the corpse (location of injuries, cause of death), and "narration of circumstances"—including distinctions in the manner of speech of protagonists.[23] If indeed Zhang was influenced by legal handbooks, it would seem to suggest that he took his task as marshaling

evidence, whether to indict unidentified individuals for the death of his mother or to make the case that her death was meritorious in accordance with a particular set of official standards.

Each of these brief pieces revolves around the pivotal moment of his mother's murder—repeating, each time in a somewhat different context and form, the circumstances of her death. In making the moment and circumstances of death central to these shorter accounts, Zhang also echoes the official biographies compiled by the Bureaus to Investigate the Loyal and Righteous. As we have seen, dying words and deeds were crucial in determining eligibility for honors; one must be construed as having died righteously in order to qualify for posthumous recognition. Biographies compiled by the bureaus, included in gazetteers, or collected by less formally constituted groups of local elites identify the deceased by name, native place, and a brief, often stylized, description of the virtuous death. Repeating a limited set of verbs catalogues a litany of depersonalized dying—*stabbed*, *self-immolated*, *hanging*, *shouting*, *defying*, *refusing to submit*—with no reference at all to past experiences or personalities.[24] By contrast, even though Zhang similarly construes the moment of death as pivotal, intimate details intrude and recenter his account around loss, absence, and grief.

Zhang follows these short essays with a set of bequeathed admonitions and a series of bequeathed deeds—both of which are, in the 1890 edition, significantly fleshed out, freighted with moral content, and also fraught with heart-wrenching snapshots of domestic life before catastrophe as seen through the eyes of a small boy.[25] The bequeathed words and deeds are followed by documents relating to her installation in the shrine for the Loyal and Righteous in Hangzhou, an essay by one of Zhang's acquaintances narrating the family's tragedy, the table of contents of a collection of poems by Zhang about his deceased mother, and a record of a garden that he built (and later lost) as a monument to her. Each of these segments in turn adds details to a composite picture, recreating with the obsessive and disorderly repetition often attributed to traumatic memory: images of a terrified child, a haunted man, and a lost mother.[26]

To this central set of texts, Zhang adds biographies and essays relating to the violent deaths of other family members killed during the war and a smaller number of miscellaneous materials of his own composition that address his family's experience during the war and his own efforts to come to terms with loss. On one level, these additional materials on his relatives serve to highlight the collective heroism of his relatives, magnifying the

tragedy suffered by both Zhang and his mother. As he points out in his preface, "Mother did not die alone, and so mother's death was exceptionally cruel and moreover terrible."[27]

Alongside the biographies of his other deceased relatives, which again closely resemble the biographies of martyrs included in the publications of the Bureaus to Investigate the Loyal and Righteous, he includes a few surprising interpolations: an essay on the loss of an aunt's corpse and coffin, the prefaces and postfaces from a (by then already lost) collection of poems about his mother, and an essay, originally published in the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao*, describing his experience as a beggar during the Taiping rebellion as an impetus to his own philanthropic response to the North China famine (1877) and the Yellow River floods (1887).[28] Moreover, on the last page of the book he reproduces the imprints of six personal seals, each of which quite literally identifies its owner (Zhang) with the events of 1861 and the loss they engendered. For example, one bears his father's injunction "Never Forget Your Mother," another reads, "My Mama Called Me 'Dumbo'," a third reminds us that its owner is still "The Beggar Boy of the Xinyou Year."[29] On a more fundamental level, these additional materials reiterate the extent of Zhang's suffering, his role as ritual curator of his family's dead, and the degree to which his postwar identity has been irrevocably altered by wartime experiences.

Zhang's book documents his mother's martyrdom and his own despair. He locates heroism, anguish, and everyday life spatially, emotionally, and politically in relation to their residence in Hangzhou, family relationships, and state honors. Throughout the *Record of 1861*, intimations of disorder complicate imaginings of seamlessly aligned familial and political orders—and seem to suggest the lingering, even haunting, power of instability and emotion (lodged in individualizing detail) in the face of a yearned-for, but incompletely realized, restoration of order. The compilation relies upon a cluster of juxtapositions, paired categories that illuminate and are illuminated by the author's grief. Thus, as we shall see, he contrasts commemoration and memory, ritual and emotion, shrine and garden, chastity and maternal love, father/state and mother/home, heroism and bereavement—in every case suggesting the failure of officially sanctioned structures to requite loss, restore order, address human feeling, and commemorate the dead.[30]

A close examination of Zhang Guanglie's peculiar text further complicates the picture of elites building shrines in the name of the state, while

publishing in print lists of martyrs that advanced their own local agendas. After a war that profoundly challenged the prevailing order and in a context where disorder had deep implications of sedition, a sometimes tense and conflicted alliance of provincial officials and local elites insistently and visibly reiterated the need to restore the symbolic order through construction of shrines, performance of rituals, identification of loyalty martyrs, burial of unclaimed corpses, exorcism of ghosts, and publication of communal martyrologies.[31] They did so, as we have seen, both cooperatively and competitively, claiming (or imputing) the power to define and curate memory of the war while thus defining the ideal society, polity, and family. By contrast, Zhang Guanglie asserted on paper the primacy of his own highly personal commemorative efforts and found alternative meanings in disorderly fragments.

A Self Composed in Grief

In the pages of his *Record of 1861*, Zhang Guanglie presents himself as the embodiment of his own bereavement. Zhang tells his readers that he is, decades later, tormented by persistent and emotionally charged memories from the war—particularly, but not exclusively, the constant replaying of his mother's death, cut down as she resisted a rebel—in front of family members, including himself—then only a boy of eight *sui*. He establishes the authenticity of his grief through references to tears, physical pain, wailing, and other uncontrolled responses, which contrast neatly with hierarchical and orderly commemorative arrangements within established ritual settings. He describes himself as an adult, inevitably either weeping or sobbing as he writes and remembers the defining events of his childhood. In particular, he uses familiar media, such as poetry and a garden, to project an image of the subjective self, in this case, a self consumed by sorrow.

He tells us that he had sought to publish his juvenilia: a set of eighty-one poems entitled the "Artemisia Odes" (Lu e yin, "Hums of a Filial Son"), mainly about his mother—"bitter speech" and "tragic rhymes" "written in tears" to "record pain,"[32] whose poor quality later embarrassed him, but whose "authentic sentiments" gave them value.[33] He explains that he began to write poems about his mother when he was fourteen *sui* and stopped at the age of twenty-three, asked an acquaintance to write a preface, and handed the collection off to be carved onto blocks; but the manuscript was lost before it could be printed.[34] The prefaces and postfaces were recovered

from a "messy pile of books" in his study in 1884, and he was thus able to copy them into the final edition of the *Record of 1861.*

In the original preface to this poetry collection dated 1876 and reprinted in the 1890 edition of the *Record of 1861*, he asks, "What good are worthless fart poems like those I have now? Really it is hard to call them good and so no one will want to read them!"[35] He continues, arguing that the experience of having a mother is universal, and that having lost their mothers to age and death, most people "take their loving mothers' hearts and guts and cast them to the edge of the clouds" and turn to dissolute behaviors like gambling and whoring. He asks himself why he is still obsessed with his mother's bitter and premature death, and wonders whether these poems themselves might represent no more than "conjuring thoughts of his mother's appearance and grabbing a pen, writing down a few lines of a poem," or "copying down rotten words from a book" or "speaking whatever phony words that come to the mouth" or "an examination essay in seven or eight character lines—a question of obligatory social topics."[36] Poetry expressing devotion to a beloved mother might not express their author's true feelings, even if these filial sentiments were conventionally seen as occupying an unsullied and authentic realm above and beyond the tainted discourses of hall and market. He notes that "I never published this volume of my poems with the intention that other people would read them. It was just that I thought that those talented literary types who write stories in their spare time might be interested in knowing about my mother's martyrdom."[37]

His contemporaries shared this expectation that stories about the virtuous dead might be suitable for literary retelling and thus wider circulation to a different set of audiences. The well-known Hangzhou writer Yu Yue similarly comments that gentlemen of the current age who are interested in such tales might like to expand upon his notes regarding his son's deceased fiancée, the filial daughter of a loyal magistrate killed in the war, and her posthumous appearance in her sisters' dreams.[38] Fang Junyi repackaged Xu Feng'en's wartime experiences for publication as "An Account of the Vicissitudes of a Leftover Life (Zhuanxi yusheng ji)," an oddly entertaining memoir filled with fictionalizing flourishes: chance encounters, lively repartee, and a fearless and knowing protagonist.[39]

Thus, Zhang participates in a prevalent discourse juxtaposing sincere feelings ostensibly found in fiction with the stale writing required by an official career, and he employs familiar motifs of nineteenth-century literati

self-representation. He describes the tension between his desire to communicate his true feelings and the limitations of the vehicles for self-expression available to him. True feelings defined difference, demarcating a hierarchy that privileged authentic emotion over mere words, especially words deployed for self-interested purposes. Profound sorrow thus separates Zhang and his efforts to achieve literary remembrance from the inauthentic herd. It also differentiates his book of memories from the merely utilitarian exercises of the examination system. By centering his identity on grief, he expressed his alienation from socially prescribed ambition, and he signaled, through tears and reiteration of his pain, the authenticity of his emotions. Writings produced in grief, however authentic, had their limitations. He reminds us that there was an inevitable gap between emotions and words, and the resulting poetry was, moreover, vulnerable to loss. Such anxiety over textual loss (and thus literary mortality) was a prevalent motif in writings from the aftermath of the Taiping Rebellion. Indeed, the poems, which were later lost, proved a fragile and evanescent monument to his mother's memory.

He also attempted to honor his mother by building a garden, called the Martyr's Garden, in which to remember her. In 1879, on the occasion of his third brother, the former captive's marriage, Zhang returned to the old house in Cistern Alley and began a yearlong process of reacquiring land and constructing buildings. The garden that he built was small with a narrow entrance. Upon entering the garden, a visitor would encounter a small tablet. Following a winding wall and passing through an opening, the visitor suddenly would see a hall inscribed "Martyr." To the left, the visitor encountered the Artemisia Pavilion, named for a plant symbolizing filial piety. Over the doorway Zhang placed an inscription: "Behold the underworld." The inscription marked the space, metaphorically, as the boundary between life and death that separated mother and son.[40] Other named features in the garden included the Corridor of Bitter Tears and the Hut for Protecting Daylilies, a plant that evoked a child's devotion to his mother.

Gardens, like poems, could signify the informal, the authentic, and the subjective self. Many adult men of means used the names of their gardens to refer to themselves, particularly in more personal settings. Gardens were also, of course, a form of property, and thus emblematic of social distinction. Zhang assures us that his garden was no mere status symbol; authentic emotion in this case served as a mark of even higher distinction. His garden

was, he argues, quite unlike other gardens, which were intended for banquets and convivial amusements. His garden was a place, like his person, devoted to the memory of his lost relatives—uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters—and especially to the memory of his mother. It was a site emblematic of his self, a place to proclaim an emotional and filial identity, and a monument to unspeakable loss.

Zhang also seems to have imagined his garden as a place in which he could renew contact with his deceased relatives. At the center of the Artemisia Pavilion on the grounds of the Martyr's Garden he claims that his mother's spirit truly manifested itself and he could sense her presence. And in the same spot, he knelt on the ground and cried out of remorse and distress over his mother's death, feeling the bitterness that had "penetrated deep into his bones."[41] Here, in his garden, he ate, slept, and communed with his mother's spirit. He composed couplets, which were inscribed onto the walls of the halls and pavilions. The words affirm his attachment to his lost mother, and to the tragic events that defined him. In the couplets, he tearfully highlights his alienation from ordinary society, proclaims his eternal devotion to the memory of his mother, and announces that his life's purpose is to curate her memory. He refers to himself by his baby name and calls his mother *Amu*, or "Mommy." The last couplet powerfully reiterates the bond between the grieving man and the boy that he had been: "At seven [Chinese] feet tall I wail in guilt and woe; / The 8-year-old child I was is still me."[42]

His return to Cistern Alley and his detailed evocation of remembered and remaining spatial organization resonates with current notions linking place and memory.[43] He found some comfort in this emotionally charged site, but it proved ephemeral. He ultimately had to abandon it because of a conflict with his mother's relatives and his own troubled financial situation.[44] The loss of the garden and of the early poems seems to magnify the primal loss of his mother: he lost her not once but thrice—as his individualized attempts to commemorate evaporated, evanescent and unstable. As he wrote of the lost Artemisia Odes, "To have lost my mother at an early age left an unspeakable pain, and moreover, I was unable to share the feelings of sorrow and rage with the world!"[45] In the *Record of 1861*, Zhang situates himself (or his literary persona) in relation to the sites and sentiments that defined his experience. He thus composes a public (and published) identity out of unrequited grief and frustrated filial devotion by way of poetry and a garden—conventional emblems of the inner self.

Disorder and Order

The war itself figures in the text as a disordering force: disrupting and destroying lives, ruining property, unraveling the ideological principles that underlay both community and empire, and commanding assertions of (political) order restored in its aftermath. The war also occasioned other acts of disorder: lies, betrayal, cannibalism, and theft. Officials failed to live up to expectations. They revealed themselves to be venal and cowardly, even as garrison troops turned to banditry and pillaged from the communities that they were supposed to protect.[46] As we have seen, the past disorder of war is, here, and elsewhere, countered by a postwar order encoded in formal, state honors recognizing the heroic sacrifices made by dead officials, soldiers, and civilians and by ideologically inspired assertions of moral transformation and restoration.[47] By translating meaningless death into rhetoric of politically meaningful heroism, state honors embodied aspirations for an easy return to an imagined prewar order. Grieving communities were to be reunited through (new) institutionalized processes that investigated and identified martyrs eligible for ritual veneration, through publication of materials related to those identified as martyrs, and through construction of sites dedicated to ritual and architectural commemoration of the war dead, as well as through the return to an established normative order by means of (local and regional imaginings of) imperial restoration. And yet, even as Zhang Guanglie participates in the standard or even clichéd juxtaposition of war and commemoration, to the extent that he literally reproduces the documents associated with his relatives' recognition and enshrinement in his compilation, he seems also to undermine the legitimacy of these ostensibly order-restoring processes by highlighting their failure to address his grievous and irretrievable loss.

In the preface, Zhang explains the impetus behind his collection: "Matters that torment the heart will not be forgotten even unto death. How much more the case when these hover as if present before one's eyes!"[48] He notes, borrowing rhetorical conventions associated with the system of state honors recognizing loyalty martyrs from the war against the Taiping, that there is a book containing records of those who "righteously went to their deaths and completed their virtue," but he adds that he himself "cannot finish reading it."[49] He seems to imply that his own book, unconventional in its structure and contents, might provide a meaningful alternative to the formal, officially commissioned record. He continues, reminding readers

that on the day Hangzhou fell to the Taiping rebels in 1861 he lost some eighteen of his relatives, including his mother. He then observes that on the one hand he felt appropriately grateful that his relatives, especially his mother, had qualified for imperially bestowed honors, commenting that "we are most grateful for imperial beneficence in generously adding posthumous honors for her chaste heart and unyielding spirit." On the other hand, he explains that "Whereas the emperor takes these as commendable, her sons and grandsons are filled with an inexhaustible distress and moreover hold onto a pain that is difficult to articulate."[50] He refers repeatedly to his undiminished grief and the tears that accompany his (obsessive) reflections on the past, even after nearly twenty years. Zhang thus establishes a contrast between the formulaic language of commemoration and the overwhelming inexpressibility of grief.[51]

Zhang thus highlights two responses to loss: one formal, homogenizing, orderly, and officially sanctioned, and the other subjective, disorderly, personal. From the outset, even as Zhang acknowledges the procedures and media of imperial commemoration, he also points to their ultimate inadequacy. He recognizes the state-sponsored loyalty shrine and its associated documents, but he chooses to retreat to the Martyr's Garden, a site linked spatially and emotionally to his loss.

As we have seen, imperial recognition offered status and prestige to bereaved families and affirmed the dead as exemplars of state-sponsored values, such as loyalty and chastity. It also made modest provision for funeral expenses, honorific arches, and enshrinement for an ever-growing number of dead determined by local authorities to have died for the state. Imperial honors were imagined as an ordering mechanism through which to reconstitute the relationship between the locale and the center (by way of officials in the provinces), reintegrating devastated places into a weakening empire. In reality, however, commemorative processes were, like nearly everything else connected with the nineteenth-century bureaucracy, subject to corruption and ridicule. A prewar novel, translated as *Courtesans and Opium*, explains that when the state awarded chastity honors to a courtesan-turned-virtuous concubine, officials at every level took a cut of the associated funds, leaving very little for the family.[52] Zhang's book makes clear that regardless of either prestige or corruption, such honors could not diminish the emotions triggered by shattering loss.

The imperatives of state and patriline figure prominently, perhaps inevitably, as framing devices as Zhang responds to and reconfigures prevailing

conventions for commemoration. The document from the Board of Rites approving state honors for Zhang's mother and other members of the family killed when Hangzhou fell to the rebels in 1861 is reproduced on the first page after the table of contents. It is followed by a calligraphic rendition of his father's admonition not to forget his mother (wu wang er mu), "Fourth son, Illuminate the Martyr, kneels, and records this" (Si nan Guanglie gui shi). He thus reenacts in words the physical gesture of subordinating himself to his father's admonition, presenting himself as the filial son of the Zhang patriline. Zhang explains that his father submitted a dossier pertaining to his wife's martyrdom to the governor-general of Liangguang, the southern administrative region where he was serving. The governor-general in turn transferred it to the governor of the family's native province, Zhejiang, in accordance with proper and established procedure. This governor then dispatched personnel to the county to investigate the facts, reporting in a memorial that "the provincial Bureau to Investigate the Loyal and the Righteous has gathered documents and reported in detail and has subsequently received proclamations bestowing honors in accordance with the sub-statutes and has recommended permitting ritual installation at the Zhejiang Shrine for the Loyal and Righteous."[53]

Zhang Guanglie writes both within and around these conventions for commemoration, using emotion and grief to confront the absolute obligations of patria and patriline. In his book, orderly structures and disorderly feelings coexist and are intermingled; ghosts and dreams trouble the world of men. So even though patrilineal imperatives and state honors are clearly central considerations, the book is ultimately not about these formal commemorative conventions. Indeed, the institutions of state and family are ultimately shown to be weak and inadequate to the task of meaningful commemoration—and unable to prevent catastrophe to begin with. For example, he describes an absent father whose attempts to remove the family from harm's way were ineffective.[54] More generally, Zhang portrays a patriline sundered by conflict, undermined by personal weakness, and disrupted by tensions over money, food, and property—or guilt engendered by desperate choices made under pressure. Like many of his contemporaries, Zhang alludes to the multifariousness of responsibility for wartime damage and the inadequacy of moral categories to describe messy and fraught political realities. He depicts an amoral polity incommensurate with the moral platitudes of conventional representation: military agents on all sides perpetrated atrocities against civilians and looted their possessions, conscripts

pressed into Taiping service were excluded (and worse) upon their return, and hungry neighbors cannibalized the starving whose corpses littered the community.[55] The patriline and the state, referenced in a generalized language of obligation and heroics, are writ large, and thus paradoxically diminished, undermined by the disorderly and emotional detail of everyday experience. Where others ostensibly longed for the symbolic restoration of order, Zhang seems only to have wanted his mother.

Portraits of a Lost Mother

The primary family attachment depicted in Zhang's book is to a beloved, longed-for, and ultimately unattainable mother, remembered through affectionate description of physical detail and emotional connection—cleft by a moment of extreme violence. Representations of virtuous and suffering mothers can be found in many genres of literary and historical writing from the Ming-Qing period. According to Hsiung Ping-chen, "Chinese men always felt compelled to write profusely about their mothers, living or deceased." She cautions that these representations were often self-interested and defined by archetypes. Even so, she also indicates that "many boys never seemed able to get over the pain and grief of their mother's death."[56] Certainly Zhang Guanglie figures himself in this mode: grieving, emotional, effusive, and deeply attached.

Images of Zhang Guanglie's mother obviously occupy a central space in the *Record of 1861*. Zhang portrays his mother in three distinct representational keys, each enabling him to highlight a different set of imperatives. First, she is the paragon of propriety commanded by ritual convention and as defined by the Bureau to Investigate the Loyal and Righteous. She is thus presented as an exemplar of public values in life as well as death. Zhang assures us that his mother was the ideal woman: chaste, gentle, frugal, strict, diligent, and gracious, careful in her household management, modest in her attire, and rigorous in encouraging her sons to study and her daughters to sew.[57] Second, she was the affectionate and beloved mother of his early childhood, best conjured in memory through almost tactile recollections of quotidian detail. In this vein, Zhang provides snapshot views of a woman whose loss occasioned profound personal pain—an image composed of intimate moments that reveal her affection for her children, her personal habits, and those idiosyncrasies that capture her humanity. This version of his mother represents the informal antithesis of formal ritual and hierarchy

in ways consistent with the idea that filial devotion to mothers could be invoked as a challenge to the patriarchal order.[58] Third, Zhang depicts his mother as the victim of appalling violence whose way of death justified both recognition by the state as a martyr and the extreme grief of her son.

In representing his mother as a virtuous woman worthy of commemoration, Zhang emphasizes her concern for her children's education, her efforts to provide food and clothing for her family, her habitual frugality and diligence, her modest and quiet demeanor, her consideration of elders and relatives, and her willingness to die in defense of her virtue. He reminds us that her impulses were correct: thanks to her foresight and care, on two occasions her children escaped harm when others perished. She was able to save her family by temporarily moving them to a relative's home in a more remote part of the city when the rebels attacked Hangzhou in 1860, and again to the countryside on the eve of the rebel occupation in 1861.[59] Because of unspecified difficulties in their place of refuge, she wants to return to Hangzhou and is misled into believing that this will be a safe choice. Along the road, she sees the unsettled conditions and realizes that she has been deceived.[60]

Faced with the rebels, her first impulse is to commit suicide, and when her (morally correct) attempt at hanging is frustrated by her shouting and wailing children, she proclaims her intention to die rather than submit—and her virtuous aversion to being seen outside the house. Her son recalls her impassioned announcement as the family moved from their own home to the neighbor's:

> Alas, I am but a woman. Would that I could in the midst of the rebel horsemen lead you children out to safety! Alas now the rebels are all around us! If indeed I were to set one step outside the door, I would never have the face to face anyone again![61]

She then again proclaims her willingness to die, her righteous words witnessed by the children and her brother.[62] Death thus becomes an inevitable consequence of her virtue, and public honors allow meaning to be located in her righteous demise. And yet, Zhang reminds his readers that this perfected image is inadequate to stand for his mother's memory.

Intimate details scattered through the compilation contrast sharply with the formal emphasis on bureaucratic procedure and ritual restoration. They include specific references to his mother's appearance and demeanor as well as fragments of remembered conversations and events. The occasional

(and annotated) use of dialect words and references to sensory experience heighten the sense of particularity. She had pockmarks at the edges of her eyebrows.[63] She smoked tobacco and normally carried an ebony pipe with an ivory mouthpiece. She consumed alcohol and coddled her children. Frightened, she prayed to the Buddha, and in the deep of night she embraced her youngest child and said "A-bing, A-bing, I love you and want the multitude of pleasures of gently spoiling you! But I fear that your Mommy can't manage—what is to be done?" as her son clasped her around the neck and sobbed.[64] Her relationships with her husband's siblings and her own were, according to her son's account, complicated and sometimes unpleasant. She liked to manage the kitchen herself and, the author recalls, personally inspected the locked doors and windows of the family compound every night, attended by all of her children. She was sincere in her practice of Buddhism, prayed frequently, and observed many vegetarian fast days. She also, somewhat more unusually, avoided eating mutton because she was born in the year of the sheep. After her death, the entire family honored her memory by not using mutton in its ritual offerings.[65]

These longed-for particularities subsequently are perpetuated in his imaginative transference of his mother's aspect onto his new bride and servants. As an adult, Zhang watches the servant girls climb the stairs and sees his dead mother's elusive form.[66] He thinks he might recognize traces of his mother's features in his bride's face, contrasting this marvelous coincidence with the fact that the ritually necessary portrait commissioned by his father manifested scant resemblance and that prior to that moment he had had only hazy recollections of his mother's appearance.[67] These juxtapositions suggest the limitations of the formal, and the power of the intimate, the coincidental, and the feminine. In evocative fragments loaded with descriptive detail, we learn of unresolved family tensions and of the lingering power of excruciating tragedy. The conventional devotion of successful sons to their dedicated mothers, expressed and recorded in countless tomb inscriptions and celebratory biographies, here takes on a morbid and emotional cast.

In portraying his lost mother, Zhang recalls intimate moments. He remembers his mother's agonized realization that her children were in danger, and her guilty self-recrimination for having brought the family back to the city on the eve of the Taiping takeover.[68] He recalls that she smoked and that in her final struggle, she flung her ebony tobacco pipe at her Taiping attacker, precipitating the violence that led to her death.[69] He tells us that she liked wine, and that every night before dinner she would take a flagon and

two wine bowls and drink, surrounded by her sons and daughters, chatting informally. And he remembers lying across her lap begging to be cosseted, and how she would hold him in her arms and drip wine into his mouth and give him leftover porridge. Overcome by nostalgia at this recollection, he adds, "Would that these things could happen again today!"[70] His point is, of course, that they cannot, and that his heart has been grievously (and irreparably) wounded by loss.[71] Instead of the generalized image of a mother's living self-sacrifice for her son's education, or a righteous loyalty martyr dying for the state, we find a particular mother lost to her son, still grieving, he tells us, decades after her death. These memories thus serve to highlight the affective connection between Zhang and his mother, and thus to underscore the magnitude of his loss.[72]

Through moments richly evoked, Zhang reveals his mother's humanity and goodness. This fragmentary and emotionally affecting portrait not only contrasts with the image of his mother as a living exemplar of female virtue described above but also differs from the biographical accounts assembled and in many cases also published by the provincial Bureaus to Investigate the Loyal and Righteous. Such accounts center on the final words and deeds of the deceased in order to highlight loyal and righteous intentions. Gestures such as refusal to submit, proclamations of loyalty to the emperor, and resistance to the rebels provided crucial evidence that justified inclusion in state institutions such as the local shrines honoring the war dead and translated individual victims into model martyrs. The loyal dead adhere to prototypes: absolute resistance, uncompromising loyalty, and defiance unto death. Such accounts efface personal attachments while emphasizing the correct and exemplary performance of hierarchically inflected roles. The righteous dead were honored for embodying state-sanctioned values, available to all and attained by some. Named individuals become theatrical types in staged encounters that culminate in their deaths. By contrast, Zhang focuses precisely on what made his mother unique, lovable, and irreplaceable, even as she also necessarily fitted into roles defined by loyalty and righteousness. She counts among the loyal and righteous in death, but her son misses her as she was in life.

Zhang Guanglie returns frequently to his mother's final moments. Her death is described no fewer than seven or eight times with varying levels of detail and in differing contexts. In the most formal of these settings, the essay "The Origins of My Late Mother Madame Yao's Martyrdom," we learn that in her final hours Zhang's mother led her four sons and two daugh-

ters to the more modest home of a neighbor. A rebel climbed the stairs and seized the oldest son and dragged him out. Zhang's mother, holding her youngest son on her lap, proclaimed that the heartbreak of losing her first-born confirmed her will to die. Another rebel entered, carrying a short knife, and with obviously malevolent intent. He counted the children, assaulted their uncle, and commanded him to bring the children and follow. In that instant, Zhang's mother shouts, "You rebel! I am not afraid of you!" The man drew his knife. The children blanched in fear. She handed the youngest son to the servant, turned around, and taunted the rebel, commanding him to kill her, flinging an object (here unidentified) at his face. He stabbed her neck; her body, weakened by hunger, crumpled and fell to the ground. Her eyes remained bright for a long time, and there was not as much blood as might have been expected. Frightened, perhaps by these seemingly supernatural effects, which also might be read as proof of her intrinsic moral worth, the rebel hurried the two older boys and their uncle out of the house. They were captured, and, we learn elsewhere, killed.[73] The servant and the youngest son somehow escaped notice, and remained with the corpse for two days and nights.

The several descriptions of this scene vary slightly in their specifics, differing, for example, in the level of formality in reproducing Zhang's mother's last words or foregrounding a narrative element (space, physical description of the corpse, references to the time of day) appropriate to the identified subject matter of the particular essay in which it appears. In the essay describing his mother's corpse, additional details include the fact that the rebel threw her head down the stairs; maternal uncle retrieved it, and placed it beside her neck. Her eyes seemed to perceive the presence of her son and the servant who knelt, wailing, beside the corpse, which seemed to weep in response.[74] The additional details serve to underscore the horrific mood while also highlighting the affective connection between survivors and victim; Zhang reminds his readers of his own terrified screams and thus the response of his younger self to this traumatic scene.[75]

In his short essay on the family's former residence, Zhang describes his mother's dying moments in the context of the neighbor's house where she was killed. By contrast with their tidy home, which provided a suitable environment for the children's studies, the mother's worship of the Buddha, and maintenance of appropriate gender separation, the home of a neighbor (surnamed Yu) and her daughter consisted of only "a few beams covering a bit of land." The doors and windows were broken or missing, and the inside

was cluttered with piles of broken furnishings and household items. Zhang recalls the site where his mother was martyred, reflecting on them almost two decades after the events; he still cries when he recalls where she was located, in the exact center of the back room of the neighbor's house.[76]

Zhang's portrayal of his mother's final moments to a certain extent conforms to the broader pattern found in the vast number of commemorative biographies produced in the aftermath of the rebellion. By describing her death in heroic terms, he asserts a relationship between the righteous deceased and the state, and thus her eligibility for official honors as a loyalty martyr. The description of her death thereby serves a function analogous to the descriptions of her exemplary virtue in life discussed above. At the same time, the repeated and emotional accounts of her death serve to define her son's suffering (and thus the authenticity of his grief), as well as her worthiness, marking a boundary (and a connection) between Zhang-as-adult and his childhood self.

Mortal Remains

As we have seen, proper care of a family's dead, particularly their physical remains, ensured that they would enter the afterlife as beneficent ancestors, rather than haunting ghosts.[77] During the post-Taiping period, as over a much longer period in Chinese history, the bodies of these untended dead functioned as a symbol of disorder, with burial embodying a kind of ultimate (sometimes prosthetically mediated) order. The post-Taiping period was marked by intensified community efforts to bury the vast numbers of untended dead through formation of philanthropic organizations and creation of charitable cemeteries. Artifacts were, when necessary, substituted for the actual corpses of lost relatives. In fulfilling his role as biological and symbolic son of mother, aunts, and uncles, Zhang Guanglie situates his efforts to locate and ritually honor the dead in relation to family cult and state honors—themselves important symbols of restoration. The tasks of burying and commemorating dead family members thus figure prominently as Zhang's most significant postwar activities, even as untended corpses seem to occupy significant space in his recollections of wartime events and experiences.

Over the course of nearly seventeen years, Zhang and his surviving relatives recovered bodies, filed paperwork, and composed honorific biographies. Bodies and coffins were lost and miraculously found—or not, in which case

meaningful alternatives had to be substituted, in most cases in the form of simple wooden tablets inscribed with the deceased's name. Mother's decapitated corpse, carefully reassembled, wrapped in a reed mat, and hidden in the eerie calm that followed the extreme moment of her violent death, was recovered years later by way of dreams and seemingly divine intervention. The author's maternal uncle dreamt that his sister's bones stood before him and was made melancholy by feelings of guilt for her death. Troubled by a similar dream, Zhang Guanglie's father's brother dispatches workers to search among the ruined walls of the neighbor's house. At sunset, frustrated by their failure to find the corpse, the workers pray silently. A brick falls, revealing a small bit of reed mat. The workers, heartened by the divine signal, dig and find the skeleton, missing only one bone from her middle finger.[78] Recovered, she is buried on Dragon Well Hill (Long jing shan) overlooking West Lake, returned, ritually, to her place beside her husband in the family tomb in 1878.

A stele and an imperial edict affirm the political meaning of her death. The relevant documents from the Zhejiang Bureau for the Investigation of the Loyal and Righteous testify that

> the bureau gathered the documents and reported in detail and has subsequently received proclamations bestowing honors in accordance with the sub-statutes and moreover permitting ritual installation at the Zhejiang Shrine for the Loyal and Righteous. The skeleton was recovered after the reconquest of the provincial city. It is now buried together with that of her husband at Dragon Well Hill on West Lake.[79]

The bodies of an aunt and a cousin, who had committed suicide by hanging on the day the rebels occupied Hangzhou, were hidden in a leather trunk behind the wall of their house. These are found, undisturbed, and are subsequently interred on Dragon Well Hill, and their spirit tablets are enshrined at the provincial shrine to honor the Loyal and Righteous. In this way, order was ultimately or ostensibly reimposed upon the dead, their bodies, and their life stories through a ritual regathering of the lost in the family tombs, or under the imprimatur of honors, systematically applied for and imperially conferred.

The corpses of other relatives proved more difficult to recover. Uncles, cousins, aunts, and brothers ultimately were restored to the family through burial, but without benefit of their physical remains. Zhang includes a short essay on the disappearance of his aunt's corpse and coffin, lost when the

Taiping forces occupied the city. The cemetery keeper had been captured, and after his return he cannot explain unequivocally what happened to her body. He explains that it is possible the Taiping forces looted the caskets in search of jewelry and clothing—or, alternatively that they took the wood from the coffins to build their garrison.[80] These explanations allude, powerfully, to the inhuman heterodoxy of the by-then-defeated enemy. In such cases where the body and coffin cannot be recovered, wooden boxes, with inscribed names and dates, substitute ritually for the bodies of the dead. Hence wood and words provide ritual prosthetic, also standing in for several uncles, missing in the chaos.

Lingering Spirits

Wandering souls provided a disorderly, if emotionally desirable, alternative to the closure ostensibly enacted by way of burial and commemoration. As many anecdotal sources attest, the postwar period was, not surprisingly, accompanied by intensified desire to communicate with deceased relatives through religious specialists, the planchette, and spirit possession.[81] References to conversations with the dead, whether realized or simply longed for, appear frequently in the random jottings and literary collections of the time, as do more frightening encounters with malevolent specters.[82]

In this vein, Zhang describes an encounter with the spirit of his beloved oldest sister, Xingzhu. She was in life, he reports, lovely in appearance and clever like their mother, with excellent embroidery and accounting skills. She made marvelous and lifelike toys for her younger brothers, which were "the envy of all who saw them." She had reached the age of seventeen *sui* when the city fell to the rebels in 1861. As the family sought refuge at the neighbors', her mother ordered, "If you need to die, die! Do not allow yourself to be polluted by the rebels!" Xingzhu cried and took these words to heart. After her mother was murdered, she tried to kill herself but was stopped by the rebels, who forced her to leave. Her fate after that remained unknown to her family.

Later, when Zhang Guanglie was living with his father and his father's concubine in Guangzhou, the spirit of his sister Xingzhu entered the concubine's body. The concubine spoke in Xingzhu's voice and reported the circumstances of her death to her father: when she reached the end of the alley, there was a stream, and she tore herself away from her captors and leapt to her death.[83] Zhang offered a cup of tea to the concubine. She took his hand,

which had been afflicted with eczema, and carefully peeled the scabs exactly as his sister had done when he was young, confirming that it was indeed she. Father banished the ghost, ordering her, as her father, to be silent and rest in peace; the concubine immediately ceased to speak in Xingzhu's voice.[84] The testimony of the ghost provided emotional comfort to her family, especially her youngest brother. It also explained how her life had ended, virtuously, and furthermore it enabled her family to include her in their application for state honors along with the other relatives who died in 1861.

Out of Experience

The Great North China Famine of 1876–1879 caused mass mortality of alarmingly similar scale to that of the civil war of the 1850s and 1860s. The disaster in the north was widely publicized by way of Shanghai newspapers. It evidently triggered memories of wartime mortality and suffering in Jiangnan and in turn inspired activism among survivors and eyewitnesses, many of whom communicated their philanthropic commitments by way of new media, specifically the newspaper, but who also drew upon social networks and methods forged during the rebellion.[85] Yu Zhi's disciples, for example, published *An Iron Man's Tears for the Great Famine* (Qihuang tielei tu), clearly modeled after *Tears for Jiangnan*. This illustrated pamphlet was both stylistically and rhetorically similar to its predecessor. It also emerged out of the same social and religious milieu of Jiangnan activist philanthropists. Artists, many of them refugees from wartime Jiangnan, publicized fundraising sales in the Shanghai newspaper, *Shenbao*.[86]

In his *Record of 1861*, Zhang Guanglie presents himself as a man debilitated by wartime experience. Grief over childhood loss haunted his adult self; he sought to honor his relatives by means that requited his own pain and in terms that fulfilled social expectations. Two essays by Zhang Guanglie that were published in *Shenbao*, the leading Shanghai newspaper of the late nineteenth century, suggest that he also attempted to turn his own wartime experiences to humanitarian purposes. One describes the way childhood suffering demanded philanthropic behavior in his adult self; faced with famine or flood, the survivor should empathize and give generously to help his fellow sufferers. This essay, like others appearing in the same paper, suggests how wartime experience influenced communities of survivors into the late nineteenth century by inspiring, or even commanding, them to participate collectively in humanitarian projects. The other, an essay recommending

support of a particular policy agenda in light of personal loss, suggests the increasingly participatory political culture of the late Qing. It also may indicate how sentiment figured in the late Qing political and cultural spheres, and a possible link back to the emotions engendered by wartime suffering.[87]

In his 1887 essay "The Beggar Boy Speaks" (Qi er yu), originally published in *Shenbao* and reprinted also as part of the 1890 edition of the *Record of 1861*, Zhang Guanglie explains why it is incumbent on survivors to participate in philanthropic activism. He recalls his own experiences wandering with his nursemaid, Granny Zhu, in eastern Zhejiang, a month of hunger and fear he "frequently returned to in memory." He writes, in the context of a lengthy narration of his own suffering, that by the time he was reunited with his father he "was already emaciated and did not look like a person, but rather like a hungry ghost or something found on the road."[88] He explains that his own hunger in 1861 begat an obligation to contribute to famine relief in the 1870s and 1880s, notably efforts that were organized by local philanthropic organizations and publicized in the newspapers.[89]

He presents his response through a conversation with Granny Zhu, repeatedly naming himself in the third person as "Beggar Boy." He writes that "it was just the time of the terrible North China Famine and the philanthropy halls were sending around donation registers. When I took one to Granny, she looked at it and said, 'Avoiding famine and avoiding disaster are truly the same thing! Little Master, now you are full and warm, but you should also think back on those days when you were a wandering beggar!'" The one-time beggar boy responded, saying, "It is only because I don't dare to forget that I am bringing this register to my friends and relations and urging them to donate to the best of my ability. . . ."[90] Zhang's personal experience of hunger and loss thus inspired the imagining of a humanitarian imperative to serve a larger community. This connection of self to society was mediated through a newspaper that publicized its commitment both to conversations about the recent past and to philanthropy. *Shenbao* thus served as an instrument amplifying meaning, helping to translate suffering into humanitarian action.[91]

During the 1880s, a decade bracketed by publication of the first and third editions of his *Record of 1861*, Zhang Guanglie lost two young daughters, an infant and a toddler, because of (he claimed) the bungling of medical practitioners. We learn this from an essay, again published in *Shenbao*, in which Zhang expresses support for proposed regulation of pediatric doctors by the provincial government. Here again, he juxtaposes personal tragedy

with the demands of both state and family. He observes that if the provincial government were at least to censure quack physicians who were treating children, the state would find itself with a vastly expanded number of (male) taxpayers, and families would have more (male) descendants to carry out ancestral rites and continue the family line. Even as he privileges the official and the patrilineal rhetorically, he underscores the primacy of the personal, touchingly writing of his grief for his two lost children, who as daughters were neither taxable nor ritually legible.

Having lived for many years as a sojourner, he writes of his guilt for having neglected matters at home. In a tiny room, far from his family, he reflects on how quacks and village doctors conspired to send his children to their deaths.[92] In this, he echoes his own earlier criticism of his father, whose absence he blamed for the tragedy that befell his younger self. In both contexts, he privileges the subjective, the intimate, and the emotional. That he did so in Shanghai's major newspaper, *Shenbao,* highlights the availability of new venues for reflection on events of the recent past and expression of opinion in the present. And indeed, material published in *Shenbao* during the 1870s and 1880s drew attention to ongoing preoccupations with the war, whether in the context of sensational stories about former rebels unmasked and families reunited, or in missing-persons notices seeking relatives lost in the war, or in occasional pieces and memoirs published by the paper or its affiliated publishing house.[93] The war occupied a prominent place in the formation of reading publics in the late nineteenth century. At the same time, new media such as *Shenbao* also provided a vehicle through which the emotions engendered by war could be shared or channeled into collective activism in the face of new disasters.

Pondering Pain

There were, for millions of survivors like Zhang Guanglie, bodies to be buried, lives to be rebuilt, and beloved mothers to be mourned. And during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, a significant number of writers set pen to paper and documented the events of the war or recorded their own harrowing experiences.[94] As we have seen, over a period of several decades after the end of the war, Zhang Guanglie remembered his mother in his misplaced poems, the lost Martyr's Garden, and in the writing and rewriting of his *Record of 1861*, all projects intimately linked with expressions of the self-in-grief. Over these same decades, Zhang also devoted consider-

able energy and time to recovering, burying, and honoring his family's dead, engaging in familial acts of formal commemoration by proxy. Many others also spent the postwar decades searching for lost family members; given the numbers of anonymous dead consigned to mass graves, such efforts must have been heart-wrenchingly frustrating, both personally and in relation to customary ritual practice.

Zhang Guanglie's *Record of 1861* reminds us that the postwar period was not a time of optimistic recovery, tidy rebuilding, and orderly documentation of righteous deaths. Life and politics were never that simple, and the processes of renewal and commemoration were never so neat. Moreover, because the instruments of commemoration, appropriated by local elites and provincial officials acting in the name of the state, failed to requite loss, individuals sought solace in their own acts of remembrance or release through writing. In his book, Zhang Guanglie asserts the importance of disorderly and subjective memory; the book functions as a site in which a grieving son could better remember the person his mother had been. The image of his mother, officially commemorated, seemed alienated and elevated from the particular person he warmly recalled feeding him porridge at the dinner table and cuddling him at night. He recorded these fragmentary images in words, thereby constructing one of himself consumed by grief. In so doing, he also defied the absolute moral clarity of official narratives, absorbing the rhetoric of virtue into an account that privileged loss and emotion.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Endings

Zhang Guanglie was not alone in recording his wartime experiences. At the time Zhang published the first edition of his idiosyncratic book, other survivors and eyewitnesses also turned to writing. Li Gui, who like Zhang Guanglie lost several relatives to the war, among them his mother, his wife, and his infant daughter, vividly recorded his terrifying and grim experiences as a Taiping captive in *A Record of Pondering Pain* (Si tong ji). In his preface to Li Gui's memoir, Gao Ding wrote:

> The Southern Rebels began to make trouble in 1850. It was sixteen years from then until the memorial declared their pacification in 1865. During this time, they reached into sixteen provinces; the number of counties, departments, and prefectures that fell to them numbered more than 600. And we who fell in among the rebels must be counted in the hundreds of billions [i.e., are too many to count]. The mysterious light [of life] flickered and was extinguished. Decomposing bones covered the ground everywhere. Eventually these turned to ash or liquid—and thus the vast numbers of the dead cannot be counted. Those who were fortunate enough not to die also experienced extremes that cannot readily be recorded by anyone. Thus, today, now that the pain has settled and we can reflect on that pain, very few can record it in orderly words.[1]

Even though the events of the recent past were often termed unspeakable or difficult to represent, survivors such as Li Gui felt compelled to record them. They called events they had witnessed and heard unspeakable both because they were terrible beyond language and because they could not be explained through prevailing moral categories. What to make of atrocities committed by the dynasty's agents? Or of those who, unbound by loyalty, abandoned the Qing cause, swore allegiance to the rebels, and wrought mayhem? Or of those who owed their very survival to having served the wrong overlords, even involuntarily? Authors such as Li Gui reveal how real life could be stranger and more terrible than fiction. In the process of narration, he also, as Gao Ding suggests in his preface, highlights the reasons for his own survival, which were grounded in the particularities of his personality. He survived because of his patience, his resolve, and his insight into the trickiness of his situation.

To these writers, it seemed that a life-defining experience was at risk of being forgotten in the midst of subsequent disasters, and it required explanation other than the celebratory rhetoric of virtue and sacrifice in the name of the state.[2] Enough time had elapsed since the war that they could begin to translate painful experience into coherent writing. Events that had seemed painful beyond expression acquired an urgency and clarity that impelled eyewitnesses to record what they had seen and experienced. Like Zhang Guanglie, Li Gui and other writers presented themselves with a keen awareness of the virtuous types promoted to various purposes by the Qing court and officialdom. But unlike the hagiographical productions honoring the dynasty's dead that revealed a person's embodiment of perfect subjecthood in death, these memoirs highlighted passionate feelings and lingering emotions from life, even if they were presented in language we now see as limited by trope or cliché. Wartime experience, authentic or otherwise, had by the 1880s briefly become an occasion for individual and collective catharsis—as well as a marketable commodity.[3] Such writings offer us a radically different perspective on the relationship between subject and state, individual and community, and the place of emotion and pain in private and public life.

Many works focused on the war were transcribed or published in the last three decades of the nineteenth century; some (whether memoirs or jottings or attempts to explain) privileged the perspective of the individual witness and survivor, even as they coexisted in time and space with the moral imperatives that inspired official and semiofficial productions such as

gazetteers and martyrologies. Even as they absorbed and appreciated formal modes of commemoration, works such as Zhang Guanglie's *Record of 1861* also pointed to their fundamental inadequacy. State-sponsored honors and rites could not contain subjective experience. They could not requite grief. They could not restore the dead to bereaved families. And indeed, it seems some writers found the Qing state and its agents to have been complicit in creating the conditions inspiring rebellion to begin with. The desire to restore order in the aftermath was only partly about loyalty and righteousness. The underlying tensions become visible in the memoirs—or in the juxtaposition in the same neighborhood of competing shrines honoring the loyal and righteous, sponsored by the officers of victorious regional armies who dominated provincial governments in the Jiangnan region after the war, and by local elites asserting their own prerogatives on their home turf.

The commemorative structures erected or inspired by the state could not fully address feelings of loss and indignation; nor, it seems, were they adequate to comfort the restless spirits of the dead. In 1872, *Shenbao* reported that ghosts haunted the Manchu garrison at Hangzhou, the site of a massacre in 1861. In spite of efforts to clear the corpses and skeletons that had filled the wells and canals of the garrison, "the damage was in truth too great and the poison persists." More than half of the several hundred soldiers transferred there from Fujian after the war died. One man expired suddenly, apparently of fright, after seeing "people with no heads, no clothes, and no limbs crowding the streets and blocking the roads coming toward him."[4]

Others sensed the presence of unquiet ghosts as well. On the twentieth anniversary of the city's capture by Taiping forces in 1861, Buddhist monks held rites at the Manifest Loyalty shrine to propitiate the troubled souls of the war dead and ease their passage to paradise. Essays composed for the occasion made use of the language of sacrifice, loyalty, and righteousness. But the rites corresponded with the anniversary of the city's fall, rather than the dynasty's commemorative calendar. Were the organizers looking for alternative ways to appease the dead, outside the structures of imperial rites and honors?[5]

The Buddhist ritual engaged in this case was conventionally conceived of as releasing the souls of *all* sentient beings of land and water who had suffered violent deaths. It was also understood as a rite to restore peace and stability to the world. The authors who wrote essays in this instance dedicated the ceremony to the memory of the loyal and righteous only. And yet, despite the exclusionary gesture, the ritual was inherently broader and

more inclusive. Moreover, that efforts to placate the dead continued at least through the end of the nineteenth century suggests that postwar communities continued to be afflicted by unresolved memories and restless ghosts leftover from the mid-century civil war.

Looking below the lofty frameworks of loyalty and revolution reveals the ambiguity, shifting loyalties, nuance, contingency, and abject misbehavior that characterized wartime experience. Memoir and diary sources have much to say about the painful choices, debilitating loss, and subjective experience missing from official documents and lists of the loyal and righteous. They do not lend themselves to attempts to coerce moral clarity out of deeply ambivalent events. And they have not previously been seen as important for the study of this period. Indeed, writings identified by twentieth-century compilers sympathetic to the Taiping as representing the perspective of the "Qing side" were excoriated for their class stance or for spreading misinformation about the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. These same sources have been largely ignored by the scholarship outside of China. So, for that matter, have the martyrologies and gazetteer accounts of the righteous dead and the shrines erected in their honor—which offer moral clarity, but in service to long-since-discredited ideals. Shrines and books honoring the dynasty's dead lost their relevance as the logic of loyalty was overturned by revolution. Religious and philanthropic texts positing a divinely sanctioned relationship to the Qing regime also have gone forgotten for the aura of superstition that they lent to a political realm too often understood in purely rational terms. These categories of source material, produced in abundance during the second half of the nineteenth century, have subsequently been seen as suspect for their retrograde politics, their uncontrolled passion, and their alienation from more recent preoccupations with the nation and revolution.

What do we see when we stick close to these sources? We find claims of certainty, in the case of Yu Zhi's fulminations on urban iniquity and impending apocalypse. His absolute rhetoric of reward and retribution suggests an incipient desire to read moral and political certainty into wartime events as well as revealing a religious dimension to the postwar restoration. Similarly, in the commemorative texts produced by the Bureaus to Gather and Investigate the Loyal and Righteous, we find elevated martyrs, loyal unto tragic death, pointedly juxtaposed with villainous rebels. Clear and absolute lines restrospectively divided the community of the righteous from those who made war against the state. And yet, these claims of absolute

dichotomy mask the deep ambivalence and ambiguity engendered by war, as a close reading of Zhang Guanglie's peculiar book and other writings reveals. As we have seen, tensions, ambiguities, and self-interested projects lurk, barely sublimated, below these too carefully demarcated divisions and boundaries.

When the war was over, what remained? Emotions, certainly—among them, anger at the perfidy of the Qing state and its local representatives, especially for their failure to live up to implied promises of protection, and frustration at the slow pace of reconstruction in the absence of material support from the center. A commemorative landscape marked by competing interests: mass graves and shrines honoring the Hunan Army dead, the local dead, the righteous dead variously constituted and competitively tended. Grief for countless loved ones lost in war, to starvation, violence, and disease. An image of home, a place of safety, to which many were unable to return—or on return, the sudden realization that what was longed for was no longer there. Troubling memories of roads and canals crowded with refugees and captives; waterways clogged with corpses; human flesh for sale in the markets. Disturbing recollections of wandering, of begging, and of being trussed by the hair. Tattooed faces; stubbled foreheads; the sound of cannon fire; the familiar cadence of a hometown accent; the pervasive smell of rot. Frustrated searches for the living, and failing that, for the remains of the dead. A sense that what was once true and known was lost, uncertain, unstable, and incomplete. A search for answers, for new certainties encoded in reward and retribution, or later, revolution, and a lingering sense of unease over what had been, strategically, forgotten.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. See for example, William Hail, *Tsêng Kuo-fan and the Taiping Rebellion, with a Short Sketch of his Later Career*, 2nd ed. (1927; reprint, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1964), xiii. He cites the 1883 revised edition of Samuel Wells Williams's classic work, *The Middle Kingdom: A Survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts, and History of the Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants*, stating that "it has been estimated by foreigners living at Shanghai that, during the whole period from 1851 to 1865, fully twenty millions of human beings were destroyed in connection with the Tai-ping rebellion." Ho Ping-ti discusses these figures, raising questions about their accuracy. See *Studies on the Population of China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), 246–247. However, Ho affirms that this was one of the most devastating wars in human history, 238.

2. See for example Jiang Tao, "Taiping tianguo zhanzheng yu wan Qing renkou," in *Wan Qing guojia yu shehui*, ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2007), 3–13, and Hua Qiang and Cai Hongjun, "Taiping tianguo shiqi Zhongguo renkou sunshi wenti," in ibid., 64–75. For an older but still very useful article, see Yeh-chien Wang, "The Impact of the Taiping Rebellion on the Population in Southern Kiangsu," *Papers on China, Harvard University, East Asia Research Center* 19 (December 1965): 120–158.

3. Mary B. Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865–1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 55.

4. Mark S. Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 1. On civilian deaths, and the challenge of calculating their numbers, see Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2008), xii. A recent article in the *New York Times* suggests that the numbers should be revised upward by 20 percent to 750,000 on the basis of census data. The new number does not account for civilian deaths. "New Estimate Raises Civil War Death Toll," *New York Times*, April 3, 2012, D1, 3.

5. Paul Cohen notes that many undergraduates in his survey course on late imperial China had prior knowledge of the Boxers, whereas relatively few had heard of

the Taiping. *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 14–15.

6. Yingjie et al., *Xuzuan Yangzhou fuzhi*, 1874.

7. Tobie Meyer-Fong, *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

8. Yingjie et al., *Xuzuan Yangzhou fuzhi*, 1874, 11:14a.

9. Yingjie et al., *Xuzuan Yangzhou fuzhi*, 1874, 11:18a.

10. On religious and quotidian practices, see especially Robert P. Weller, *Resistance, Chaos, and Control in China: Taiping Rebels, Taiwanese Ghosts, and Tiananmen* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994). For a vivid and accessible biography of Hong Xiuquan, see Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan*, 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 1996).

11. On rumors, specifically in Yangzhou, see for example Tobie Meyer-Fong, "Gathering in a Ruined City: Metaphor, Practice, and Recovery in Post-Taiping Yangzhou," in *Lifestyle and Entertainment in Yangzhou*, ed. Lucie B. Olivova and Vibeke Børdahl (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2009), 40. See also Fu Nanqiao, *Xianfeng sannian bi kou riji*.

12. Pamela Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 342. On the Taiping vision, see Wagner, *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision: The Role of Religion in the Taiping Rebellion* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1982).

13. Jen Yu-wen's epic account provides a useful overview of these events, particularly with regard to military matters. His book takes extraordinary pains to protect the reputation of the Taiping as patriotic and revolutionary, however. Jen Yu-wen (Jian Youwen), *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973). See also Philip Kuhn, "The Taiping Rebellion," in *Cambridge History of China, Vol. 10, Late Ch'ing, 1890–1911, Part 1*, ed. Denis Twitchett and John King Fairbank (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 264–316.

14. John Withers, "The Heavenly Capital: Nanjing Under the Taiping, 1853–1864" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983), 222.

15. Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," 228.

16. Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror*, 342. On the religious framing of Taiping anti-Manchu sentiment, see Rudolf Wagner, *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision: The Role of Religion in the Taiping Rebellion* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1982).

17. For a family in which one brother served the Qing and another was an officer for the Taiping, see Hua Yilun, *Xi Jin tuanlian shimo ji* (unpaginated manuscript in the Shanghai Library, 1864). On the Taiping Rebellion as a civil war between two types of local elites (rather than between the rebels on the one hand and the Qing and local elites on the other), see Xiaowei Zheng, "Loyalty, Anxiety, and Opportunism: Local Elite Activism During the Taiping Rebellion in Eastern Jiangnan," *Late Imperial China* 30.2 (December 2009): 39–83.

18. Pei Dazhong et al., *Wuxi Jinkui xianzhi*, 1881, 7:9a. Technically, this gazetteer is a joint publication for two counties, Wuxi and Jinkui, that shared a county seat. I am abbreviating this to "Wuxi" for the sake of simplicity; in most cases, Jinkui is implied.

19. The compiler-in-chief of the Wuxi-Jinkui gazetteer, Qin Xiangye (1822–1883), lived through the war. The gazetteer records the loss of substantial family property, as well as the deaths of a very large number of men and women who share his surname. According to Kathryn Bernhardt, few wealthy households in Wuxi and Jiangyin survived the war. Kathryn Bernhardt, *Rents, Taxes, and Peasant Resistance: The Lower Yangzi Region, 1840–1950*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 133. Qin seems to be the scion of one such family.

20. Pei et al., *Wuxi Jinkui xianzhi*, 1881, 7:16a (Military Affairs). In previous editions of the gazetteer, warfare was discussed under the rubric "military defenses." Recent events evidently defied the logic of that category, and so the editors appended a special section on "military affairs," which they wanted to be "particularly thorough and detailed in its organization." They thus "gathered together historical materials [from or for official histories] along with local [informal, unofficial, and hearsay] sources in order to be relatively complete." *fanli* (*Principles of Inclusion*) 4b.

21. Pei et al., *Wuxi Jinkui xianzhi*, 1881, 7:17b.

22. William T. Rowe, *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 101, 150ff.

23. Kathryn Bernhardt, *Rents, Taxes, and Peasant Resistanc*e, 43, 46. On the silver shortage and the fiscal crisis more generally, see also Peng Zeyi, *Shijiu shiji houban qi de Zhongguo caizheng yu jingji* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1983), 24–71.

24. Rowe, *China's Last Empire,* 172–173.

25. Pei et al., *Wuxi Jinkui xianzhi*, 1881, 7:19a, 6:1a–4b.

26. Pei et al., *Wuxi Jinkui xianzhi*, 1881, *fanli* 4a. The loss of books and other textual materials figures very prominently in descriptions of the war elsewhere as well. See for example the prefaces to Yingjie et al., *Xuzuan Yangzhou fuzhi*, 1874. Provincial officials organized publishing bureaus after the war in an effort to restore the region's books.

27. Pei et al., *Wuxi Jinkui xianzhi*, 1881, 7:19a.

28. Several postwar gazetteers from eastern Jiangsu explicitly state that their central project was to record postwar tax reductions and document the loyal and righteous. Tax rates in some delta prefectures had been the highest in the empire for centuries and landlords consistently sought to have them reduced. Wartime devastation made it possible for them to claim hardship and have the taxes reduced. Bernhardt, *Rents, Taxes, and Peasant Resistance*, 138. See also Wang, "The Impact of the Taiping Rebellion on the Population in Southern Kiangsu," 134; and Jeremy Brown, "Rebels, Rent, and Tao Xu: Local Elite Identity and Conflict During and After the Taiping Occupation of Jiangnan, 1860–1864," *Late Imperial China* 30.2 (December 2009): 26.

29. For discussion of the devastation in this region and its effects on the Ye family, see Joseph W. Esherick, *Ancestral Leaves: A Family Journey Through Chinese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), chap. 1.

30. Hu Youcheng and Ding Baoshu, eds., *Guangde zhouzhi,* 1881, 60:25a–b, cited in Zhou Wu, "Taiping zhanzheng shi yu Jiangnan shehui bianqian," *Shehui kexue* 1 (2003): 94.

31. Franz Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), vol. 1, p. 3.

32. On this issue, see Stephen R. Platt, "Introduction: War and Reconstruction in 1860s Jiangnan," *Late Imperial China* 30.2 (December 2009): 7.

33. Platt, "Introduction," 7.

34. In her study of three generations of literary women from Changzhou in Southern Jiangsu, Susan Mann uses the term *civil war* deliberately in order to foreground the catastrophic implications of these events for her protagonists. Susan Mann, *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

35. Rowe, *China's Last Empire*, 200.

36. Two essays provide an overview of this scholarship. They are Xia Chuntao, "Ershi shiji de Taiping tianguo shi yanjiu," *Lishi yanjiu* 2 (2000): 162–180; and Jian Youwen, "Wushi nian lai Taiping tianguo shi zhi yanjiu," in *Xianggang daxue wushi zhounian lunwen ji*, ed. University of Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Xianggang daxue Zhongwen xi, 1964), 237–314.

37. Vincent Shih, *The Taiping Ideology: Its Sources, Interpretations, and Influence* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967), 436ff., 493.

38. Stephen R. Platt, *Provincial Patriots: The Hunanese and Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 184–185. A native of Sichuan, General Zhu De told journalist Agnes Smedley that he had since childhood identified with Shi Dakai, a Taiping partisan executed in his home province. See Agnes Smedley, *The Great Road; the Life and Times of Chu Te* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1956). On aspects of the Communist identification with the Taiping, see Smedley, 29–34.

39. See Tan Sitong, *An Exposition of Benevolence: The "Jen-Hsüeh" of T'an Ssu-T'ung* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1984), 167–168. Here, Tan praises the Taiping leadership for their bravery and criticizes the Hunan Army for indiscriminate killing and rapaciousness. He does not refer to Zeng Guofan by name; however, Zeng is clearly the subject of Tan's indictment. Thanks to Stephen R. Platt for the reference. See also, in the early twentieth century, Zou Rong, *The Revolutionary Army: A Chinese Nationalist Tract of 1903*, trans. John Lust (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), 18–23, excerpted in *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection*, ed. Pei-kai Cheng and Michael Lestz (New York: Norton, 1999), 200.

40. Yingjie Guo and Baogang He, "Reimagining the Chinese Nation: The 'Zeng Guofan Phenomenon'," *Modern China* 25.2 (April 1999): 142–170.

41. See for example the 2011 debate between Shi Jun and Fang Zhiguang in *Tansuo yu zhengming* in which Fang Zhiguang represents the establishment post-1949 view of the Taiping as progressive, antifeudal revolutionaries. Shi Jun argues the opposite view: that the Taiping were not progressive, not antifeudal, and not anti-imperialist. The debate was ostensibly inspired by the two authors' difference of opinion regarding a website attacking the orthodox view: Fenghuangwang (Phoenix Net), "Beibagao de Taiping tianguo yundong," http://news.ifeng.com/history/special/taipingtianguo/ (visited August 19, 2011). Shi Jun appears to be the

pseudonym of Yang Shiqun, a professor of classical Chinese literature at East China University of Politics and Law: Yang Shiqun, Xinlangboke, http://blog.sina .com.cn/u/1777984845 (visited August 19, 2011). Fang Zhiguang, "Taiping tianguo yao dui neizhan zaocheng de da zainan fu zhuyao zeren ma?—yu Fenghuang wang 'Taiping tianguo' biandao shangque, *Tansuo yu zhengming* 3 (2011): 31–33; and Shi Jun, "Shei ying dui Taiping tianguo neizhan zaocheng de da zainan fuze—yu Fang Zhiguang xiansheng shangquan," *Tansuo yu zhengming*, 5/2011: 27–29.

42. See for example Liping Wang's "Paradise for Sale," Mary Rankin's *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China*; and R. Keith Schoppa's *Xiang Lake*.

43. In effect, the rebels were "a surrogate for Chinese Communists and as such became a touchstone for each individual scholar's attitude toward the People's Republic of China." This situation prevailed from the 1950s through the 1970s. Rowe, *China's Last Empire*, 185.

44. Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion,* vol. 1, p. 5.

45. Ono Kazuko's *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850–1950* (trans. Joshua Fogel, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988) is the classic example of this phenomenon.

46. One recent monograph argues that the Taiping should be considered an authentically Christian movement, on the basis of a close reading of Taiping texts. Thomas H. Reilly, *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

47. In particular, see Joseph Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 323–327; Robert P. Weller, *Resistance, Chaos, and Control in China: Taiping Rebels, Taiwanese Ghosts, and Tiananmen* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), see esp. 70–75; Paul Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

48. Spence, *God's Chinese Son.*

49. This is consistent with what James Cole found in his research on a local militia in Shaoxing: *The People Versus the Taiping: Bao Lisheng's Righteous Army of Dong'an* (Berkeley: China Research Monographs, 1981), xii. See also Withers, "Heavenly Capital"; and Brown, "Rebels, Rent, and Tao Xu," Zheng, "Loyalty, Anxiety, and Opportunism"); and W. Charles Wooldridge, "Building and State Building in Nanjing After the Taiping Rebellion," *Late Imperial China* 30.2 (December 2009): 84–126.

50. Stephen R. Platt, *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom: China, the West, and the Epic Story of the Taiping Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2012), 235.

51. For example see Charles Taylor, "An Account by the American Methodist Episcopalian Missionary Dr. Charles Taylor," *Five Years in China* (Nashville, Tenn.: J. B. McFerrin; New York: Derby Jackson, 1860), 262, 285. These particular incidents took place prior to the Taiping occupation of Nanjing and Zhenjiang.

52. Forrest, quoted in Thomas Wright Blakiston, *Five Months on the Yang-Tsze, and Notices of the Present Rebellion in China* (London: J. Murray, 1862), 7–8. Blakiston here seems to be quoting one of Forrest's *North China Herald* articles

rather than the consular report. Other European travelers also took the opportunity to hunt pheasants in China's desolate cities and countryside. Lindesay Brine quotes Lord Elgin on flushing pheasants in the very center of the once flourishing tri-city entrepot of Hanyang, Hankou, and Wuchang in 1858. Brine, *The Taeping Rebellion in China* (London, J. Murray, 1862), 222. See also Augustus F. Lindley, *Ti-Ping Tien-Kwoh: The History of the Ti-Ping Revolution, Including a Narrative of the Author's Personal Adventures* (London: Day & Son, 1866). Lindley comments extensively on the excellent hunting opportunities afforded to a British sportsman; see for example, pp. 78, 112, 122.

53. Vincent Y. C. Shih notes these particular interests but finds the foreigners relatively more objective than the Chinese. I am more dubious. Shih, *The Taiping Ideology*, 401.

Chapter 2

1. The Taiping themselves also practiced a form of "public exhortation known as 'preaching true principles'." See John L. Withers, "The Heavenly Capital: Nanjing Under the Taiping, 1853–1864" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983), 97. For the text of the Sacred Edict in translation, see William Theodore de Bary and Richard Lufrano, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 71–72.

2. During the war, people communicated with City Gods through the planchette in order seek advice on how to avoid disaster. Vincent Goossaert, "Managing Chinese Religious Pluralism in the Nineteenth-century City Gods Temples" (unpublished paper, cited by permission), 26. See for example Bao Lian, "Gaochun chenghuangmiao zhi," in *Zhongguo daoguanzhi congkan xubian*, ed. Zhang Zhi and Zhang Jian, vol. 14 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2004), 227. The use of spirit-writing to communicate with deities was not unprecedented; the practice dates back at least to the Southern Song. However, it seems to have taken on particular significance in the context of growing interest in efficacious (morality) books and philanthropic societies in the mid-nineteenth century. These practices also continued into the postwar period. In the late nineteenth century, a charitable organization in Guangzhou described receiving a planchette revelation describing an outbreak of plague in terms of reward, retribution, and his own appointment to a position as "Assistant Superintendent" of the "Ministry Governing Epidemics." See Carol Benedict, *Bubonic Plague in Nineteenth-Century China*, Stanford University Press, 1996, p. 113.

3. Goossaert, "Managing Chinese Religious Pluralism," 6, cites Kun Gang and Xu Tong, eds., *Qing huidian shili* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991) 444, 26–29.

4. Philip Clart, "Confucius and the Mediums: Is There a 'Popular Confucianism'?" *T'oung Pao* 89.1-3 Second Series (2003): 36. Clart locates the origins of a new religiously inspired moralism that combined the structure of a Daoist cult with the social reformism of charitable organizations in the mid-nineteenth century. These groups fused the practices of spirit-writing cults with social activism and a millenarian mission inspired by the political and cultural crises of the period. Clart, "Con-

fucius and the Mediums," 10–11. The groups described by Clart used the planchette, circulated morality books, and lectured on the Sacred Edict. The Taiping authorities also railed against a similar constellation of immoral practices, banning alcohol, prostitution, tobacco, opium, and lascivious books. See Wang Qingcheng, *Taiping tianguo wenxian he lishi* (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 1993), 15.

5. Other scholars have pointed to this interpretation. You Zian hypothesizes that promotion of orthodox values in print during the period from the 1850s to the 1870s represents a direct response to the Taiping heterodoxy. You Zian, *Quanshan jinzhen* (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe), 119–120. Similarly, in a book chapter dealing with Yu Zhi's morality plays, Sawada Mizuho notes that the religious aspect of philanthropic and moral practice became especially prominent in the middle to late nineteenth century, a moment when popular religion more generally was on the ascendant. Sawada, *Chūgoku no shomin bungei: uta, katarimono, shibai* (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 1986), 329. Holmes Welch describes Buddhist renewal in the aftermath of the Taiping war as a direct reaction to wartime atrocities and destruction in Jiangnan and the desire to replenish a lost textual legacy and thereby accumulate merit. Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 20, 250, 259.

6. In the foreword to *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), Frederic Wakeman, Jr., and Carolyn Grant point to the restiveness of the lower gentry: they note that *shengyuan* (and one might add, aspiring or unsuccessful degree holders) could function as state agents—or as antistate rebels (p. xiii). Chang Chung-li made a similar point in his seminal work, *The Chinese Gentry: Studies on Their Role in Nineteenth-century Chinese Society* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955), 70. This ambivalence may account for the insistent, even frenetic, re-inscription of community allegiance to the Qing after the war. Chang also notes that the fiscal shortfall caused in part by the rebellion led to a huge increase in the number of "irregular" gentry who obtained their degrees by purchase as the court increasingly saw the sale of degrees and offices as a fundraising mechanism (140). For discussion of the social and political orientation of philanthropists (most of whom were low-level or aspiring examination elites) in the Wuxi-Jinkui area, see Takahashi Kōsuke, "Kyokyō no zenshi to zaichi jinushisō: Kōso Mushaku Kinki ni arite," *Chikaki ni arite* 2 (Sept. 1982): 3–14. Yu Zhi is one of Takahashi's main examples; the rest of his analysis is based mainly on biographies of philanthropists in the late-nineteenth-century local gazetteer, 7. In the tomb inscription that he wrote for Yu Zhi, Yu Yue quotes Li Hongzhang saying he had long known of Yu Zhi, the famous philanthropist from Jiangsu. For this and additional mentions of Yu Zhi by more famous contemporaries and associates, see Lai Jinxing, "Wan Qing Jiangnan shishen de cishan shiye ji qi jiaohua linian—yi Yu Zhi (1809–1874) wei zhongxin," master's thesis, National Chenggong University (Taiwan), 2005, pp. 18–25. Michelle Tien King, "Drowning Daughters: A Cultural History of Female Infanticide in Late Nineteenth-Century China," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2007, especially 130–134, 143–147 on (anonymous) international circulation of images and ideas from Yu Zhi's writings on in-

fanticide, and chap. 4 on Yu Zhi's direct efforts to combat infanticide in Jiangnan. You Zian considers Yu Zhi the classic example of a local philanthropist of the mid-nineteenth century. You Zian, *Quan hua jinzhen*, 99. He introduces Yu Zhi and his works, with particular attention to the *Deyi lu* as a meritorious book, 99–112.

8. Yan Chen, quoted in You, *Quanhua jinzhen*, 101. In his article on the Sacred Edict, Victor Mair describes literati who sought to "consciously and willfully mold popular culture." Mair, "Language and Ideology in the Written Popularizations of the Sacred Edict," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David G. Johnson, Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, and Andrew J. Nathan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 356. I would argue that the literati were themselves deeply embedded in the popular culture that they sought to transform.

9. There is an emerging literature on the religious lives of Chinese elites. See for example Paul Katz's article on Wang Yiting, "Yige zhuming Shanghai shangren yu cishanjia de zongjiao shenghuo—Wang Yiting," in Wu Jenshu, Lin Meili, and Paul Katz, eds., *Cong chengshi kan Zhongguo de xiandaixing* (Nangang: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 2010), 275–296. Fan Chunwu's fascinating study of the religious life of Zheng Guanying, the famous late Qing modernizer, self-strengthener, and philanthropist, provides a particularly salient example. Zheng Guanying was a close associate of Yu Zhi's; he wrote a preface for Yu Zhi's collection of moral dramas and was one of the editors of his literary collection. Fan Chunwu, "Feiluan, xiuzhen, yu ban shan: Zheng Guanying yu Shanghai de zongjiao shijie," in Wu Renshu, Lin Meili, and Paul R. Katz, pp. 247–274. On Zheng Guanying's philanthropic activities, see also Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron: Cultural Responses to Famine in Nineteenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008) 134–135; and Li Wenhai, "Wan Qing yizhen de xingqi yu fazhan," *Qing shi yanjiu* 3 (1993): 27–35.

10. During the nineteenth century, the Sacred Edict came increasingly to be seen as an antidote to heterodoxy. Mair, "Language and Ideology in the Written Popularizations of the Sacred Edict," 344, 351.

11. Ye Yuren, "*Yu Xiaohui xiansheng nianpu ba*," 1a–b, in Wu Shicheng et al., *Yu Xiaohui [Yu Zhi] xiansheng nianpu* (1875).

12. For another publication that frames recent, and less recent, historical events in relation to reward and retribution, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, salvation and damnation, see Xu Jia, *Jie hai hui lan lu*, Baoqing Prefecture, Hunan, 1869).

13. Scholarship on late Qing philanthropy has tended to emphasize rational, modernizing dimensions of charitable action. More recently, scholars such as Paul Katz have begun to emphasize the role of religion, particularly Buddhism, as a motivation for charity. He observes that similar biases have dogged studies of Western charity, which tended to privilege the "rise of capitalism" and "scientific approaches to philanthropy." Paul R. Katz, "It Is Difficult to Be Indifferent to One's Roots: Taizhou Sojourners and Flood Relief During the 1920s," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo jikan* 54 (December 2006): 37. On earlier scholarship on late Qing philanthropy, see Katz, ibid., 5–11. Rebecca Nedostup's work on religion in the Republican period also suggests a strong connection between organized charity

and redemptive societies. Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010); see for example 31, 57–63.

14. Each of these has been identified as the hallmark of the elite-state dynamic in the midnineteenth century. On promoting gentry interests relative to the bureaucracy, see Wakeman and Grant, *Conflict and Control*. On the militarization of local society, see Philip A. Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796–1864,* Harvard East Asian series 49 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970). On social dynamics around tax and rent, see Bernhardt.

15. The bottoms of the feet were considered inherently polluting.

16. Angela Ki-che Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua: Ming-Qing cishan zuzhi* (Taipei: Lianjing, 1997), 139.

17. Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua*, 143, 144; see also Yu Zhi, *Deyi lu* (Guangzhou: Aiyu tang, 1871), 12:1:8b–9a. The pagination of this book is rather complicated, with some *juan* divided into subsections, each separately sequenced. This reference is to *juan* 12, section 1, pages 8b–9a.

18. Such efforts sometimes attracted official support, as in a postwar ban sponsored by Governor Ding Richang, whose policies were clearly influenced by Yu Zhi and his word-cherishing associates. See Ding Richang, *Fu Wu gongdu* (1909), *juan* 7, Nanyangguan shuju lithograph edition, cited in Zhao Weiguo, "*Honglou meng* jinhui shimo kaoshu," *Honglou meng xuekan* 4 (2001): 214–215. For the text of a stele describing a Nanjing-based charitable association's attempt to ban lascivious pictures, objects, and texts in 1871, see Zhang Lei, "Qing Tong-Guang nianjian Jiangning fu Chenghuang miao gaoshi bei kaoshi," in *Wan Qing guojia yu shehui*, ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2007), 172–173. On Ding Richang and his policies, see Jonathan K. Ocko, *Bureaucratic Reform in Provincial China: Ting Jih-Ch'ang in Restoration Kiangsu, 1867–1870* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 1982).

19. Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua*, 140–141.

20. Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua*, 135–139.

21. Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua*, 139. For discussion of the spread of these associations beyond Jiangnan, as well as a useful overview of the Japanese and Chinese historiography, see Lee Jihhuah, "Jūkyū seiki Taiwan ni okeru sekiji kanshū no keisei," *Chūgoku shakai to bunka* 25 (July 2010): 144–159. Lee argues that in Taiwan Wenchang worship played a less decisive role in the spread of treasuring the written word than did promotion of new structures for moral regulation on the edges of empire.

22. For Chinese and foreign accounts of Taiping illiteracy, see Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," 81–82.

23. You Zian, *Shan yu ren tong: Ming-Qing yilai de cishan yu jiaohua* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 3. Spirit-writing continued to play an important role in philanthropy into the twentieth century. For instance, the Shanghai comprador and philanthropist Wang Yiting (Wang Zhen, 1867–1938) made use of texts produced

with a spirit-writing platform to encourage donations to support disaster relief and social welfare. See Katz, "It Is Difficult," 28.

24. Vincent Goossaert, "The Shifting Balance of Power in the City God Temples, 1800–1937" (unpublished paper, cited by permission of the author), 17; and Fuma Susumu, *Chūgoku zenkai zendō shi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dohosha shuppan, 1997), 822–825.

25. On meanings of *shanhou*, particularly as a postwar project in Nanjing, see W. Charles Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and the State in Nineteenth-century Nanjing" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2007), 200–204. Also, idem., "Building and State Building in Nanjing After the Taiping Rebellion," *Late Imperial China*, 30.2 (2009), 87.

26. Written in Chinese (or Japanese), all of these terms carry the character *shan*. Something is thus lost in translation. Sawada, *Chūgoku no shomin bungei*, 329. Some have translated *shanshu* as "morality books," but given the diversity of books within the category and their function generating merit it seems more apt to call them "meritorious books," as Yi-Li Wu does in *Reproducing Women: Medicine, Metaphor, and Childbirth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 81.

27. You Zian, *Shan yu ren tong*, 71–73. See also Sakai Tadao, *Zōho Chūgoku zensho no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1999), 116.

28. For examples of merit generating in relation to medical texts, see Wu, *Reproducing Women*, 78–79.

29. Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua,* 132–134. For an eighteenth-century example illuminating the connections among Wenchang, morality books, the planchette, and opposition to infanticide, see Michelle Tien King, "Drowning Daughters," 81–88.

30. Terry F. Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale: The Book of Transformations of Wenchang, the Divine Lord of Zitong* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994), xi.

31. On the increased use of spirit-writing to generate popular religious texts, see Daniel L. Overmyer, "Values in Chinese Sectarian Literature: Ming and Ch'ing Pao-chüan," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 221. On the paradox of spirit-writing being both illegal and extraordinarily widespread during the Qing, see Goossaert, "Managing Chinese Religious Pluralism," 26; and Richard J. Smith, *Fortune-Tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 221–222, 225–226. On Zeng Guofan's consultation with a planchette spirit in 1858, see Smith, 227. On spirit writing and morality books, see You Zian, *Shan yu ren tong*, 3. For an official's involvement in a spirit-writing session, see Wu, *Reproducing Women*, 78.

32. Angela Leung, "Qingdai de xizi hui," *Xin shixue* 5.2 (1994), 110–111; Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale*, 80.

33. Wu Shicheng, *Yu Xiaohui xiansheng nianpu*, 3b; Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua*, 132. Henrietta Harrison mentions in passing that the early-twentieth-century diarist and degree holder Liu Dapeng engaged in this practice as well. Harrison, *A Man Awakened from Dreams: One Man's Life in a North China Village, 1857–1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 13.

34. Sawada Mizuho suggests that the practice of philanthropy became increasingly inflected by religious belief over the course of the nineteenth century, a process that accelerated in the immediate aftermath of the Taiping rebellion. Sawada, *Chūgoku no shomin bungei,* 329.

35. See for example Hu Qianfu, "Feng he shilu," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shi xuehui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), vol. 5, p. 16. The speech was given in 1853 in Tongcheng County, Anhui. It challenges listeners to compensate for recent transgressions by making donations to support militias: "Some of you have allowed your hair to grow, turning your backs on the grace of our dynasty. Some of your relatives have served as rebel leaders; some of you have used your status as literati to take false positions [on the rebel side]; some of you have collected resources and given them to supply the rebels. Now you need to make good! Don't be stingy in your contributions!"

36. Wu Shicheng, *Yu Xiaohui xiansheng nianpu*, 11a.

37. In this also Yu Zhi is representative of a broader trend. On schools as the instrument of a "civilizing mission aimed against the heterogeneous moral, cultural, and linguistic habits of a sprawling empire," see Alexander Woodside, "Some Mid-Qing Theorists of Popular Schools: Their Innovations, Inhibitions, and Attitudes Toward the Poor," *Modern China*, 9:1 (January 1983), 18. He also refers to the village lecture in this regard.

38. Wu Shicheng, *Yu Xiaohui xiansheng nianpu*, 7a–b. On the global context for Yu Zhi's views of infanticide, see Michelle Tien King, "Drowning Daughters," especially chap. 3.

39. For the "staging of Confucian ideology" and on how Confucianism converged with a syncretic assortment of organized and popular religious traditions, see Qitao Guo, *Ritual Opera and Mercantile Lineage: The Confucian Transformation of Popular Culture in Late Imperial Huizhou* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 5.

40. Kung-ch'uan Hsiao emphasizes that the vision of xiangyue as public lectures to promote virtuous and lawful conduct was a Qing innovation. Hsiao, *Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960), 255.

41. Mair, "Language and Ideology," 330, 351. By the 1750s, lectures were to be enlivened with colloquial speech and dialect.

42. Mair, "Language and Ideology," 325–326. The Sacred Edict consisted of sixteen seven-character sayings with parallel grammar, intended to exhort moral transformation.

43. One author has termed the Tongzhi period the "high tide of 'Sacred Edict Fever'," suggesting that the war, and indeed the heterodoxy that inspired the Taiping, contributed to intensified interest in the Sacred Edict and Village Compact as instruments of moral transformation and thus, at least ideally, of political control. Zhang Ruiquan, "Luelun Qingdai de xiangcun jiaohua," *Shixue jikan* 3 (1994): 27.

44. Yu Zhi, "Jiangyin shazhou jingzei ji," in *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji* (Suzhou: Dejianzhai, 1883), 6:3a–5a; "Xiangyue wei jiushi jiwu," in *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 1:22a–23b.

45. The two men were well acquainted. See Yu Zhi, "Jiangyin Shazhou jingzei ji," *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 6:3a–5a. For a biography of Zheng Jing, see Liu Shengmu, ed., *Tongcheng wenxue yuanyuan kao,* in *Qingdai zhuanji congkan*, ed. Zhou Junfu (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), vol. 17, pp. 634–635. The biography notes that Zheng Jing served as headmaster and lectured at several local academies. Nearly all of his writings were destroyed in the Taiping War.

46. Zheng notes that "the good work" stopped after the "crisis of 1860," in other words, under Taiping administration. He comments "that the emperor has fortunately completed military achievements and has restored civil government and all the high officials are rigorously promoting the dissemination of village lectures to rectify human hearts." He observes that many of the relevant materials have been lost during the war and concludes that the former lecturers wish to requite the dynasty's benevolence by publishing texts to support the cause of reinstating the village lecture as an institution. Zheng Jing, "Xian xing xiangyue lu," in Lu Sicheng et al., eds., *Guangxu Jiangyin xianzhi*, 1878, 5:33b–34a.

47. Wu Shicheng, *Yu Xiaohui xiansheng nianpu*, 11a–b.

48. Yu Zhi, "Xiangyue wei jiushi jiwu," *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 1:22a.

49. Yu Zhi, "Xiangyue wei jiushi jiwu," *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 1:23b.

50. Yu Zhi, "Xiangyue wei jiushi jiwu," *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 1:22a. Nathan Sivin defines these terms as follows: Heteropathic (*xie*) qi is what needs to be expelled or kept out; it is what "causes change that violates normal order, that which is disorderly and dysfunctional." Orthopathic (*zheng*) qi "maintains and renews the measured, orderly changes that comprise the body's normal processes." For further variations on the relationship between the prevailing conditions of qi and the moral state of the State in the first half of the nineteenth century, see Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and the State," pp. 85–95. For ideas about qi and the moral state of the State on the eve of the Taiping occupation of Nanjing, see Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and the State," pp. 131–136.

51. Yu Zhi, "Xiangyue wei jiushi jiwu," *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 1:22a.

52. Yu Zhi, "Xiangyue wei jiushi jiwu," *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 1:22b–23a.

53. Yu Zhi, "Xiangyue wei jiushi jiwu," *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 1:23a–b.

54. Joseph Edkins, "Narrative of a Visit to Nanking," in *Chinese Scenes and People* by Jane Rowbotham Edkins (London, J. Nisbet, 1863), 256.

55. The image of civilians "dying for the dynasty" was much promoted in official contexts, particularly in relation to honors for the loyal and righteous. Whether such individuals in fact construed their deaths in relation to the dynasty is of course in most cases unknowable.

56. The Boddhisatva Guanyin was often figured in relation to a boat, sent to rescue the deserving from the turbulent waves of the apocalypse. The title alludes to the calamities that accompanied the end of a Buddhist era, while hinting at redemption for the deserving. It echoes the themes found in Anonymous, "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," in *Baojuan chuji*, ed. Zhang Xishun, 23: 164–308 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1994).

57. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), "Jiehai huilan qi," 1a, in *Jiangnan tielei tu* (Suzhou:

Yuanmiao guan Ma'nao jingfang, n.d.). This formula is repeated in the conclusion (4b). A version of this text appears under the title "Jiehai huilan shuo shang," in Yu Zhi, *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 1:7a–10a, which gives the date of writing as 1853. This version lacks the marginal and intertextual commentary and punctuation found in the text appended to the *Jiangnan tielei tu*. Clearly the text has been "cleaned up" for presentation in the personal collection, enhancing Yu Zhi's image as a respectable literatus. By contrast, the "Jiehai huilan qi," appended to the *Jiangnan tielei tu*, represents part of Yu Zhi's oeuvre of writings to inspire a popular response to the war. See Yu Yue, *Chun zai tang suibi* (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1984), 2b.

58. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), "Jiehai huilan qi," 1a.

59. On sleepers awakening as a metaphor for China's twentieth-century political predicament, see John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

60. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), "Jiehai huilan qi," 1a.

61. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), "Jiehai huilan qi," 1a. Technically, Yu Zhi's native village of Fuzhou (Floating Boat) was located in Jinkui County, which was carved out of Wuxi County in 1726. The two counties shared a county seat, although they had separate administrative apparatuses.

62. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), "Jiehai huilan qi," 2a. The narrative asides appear only in the version appended to the *Jiangnan tielei tu*.

63. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), "Jiehai huilan qi," 2a. This comes from the intertextual commentary.

64. Yu returns frequently to the theme of "treasuring grain" and "treasuring the written word." A Daoguang-era document from Suzhou encouraged local associations to treasure the written word to notify the authorities about advertisements for abortionists and aphrodisiacs and illicit performances in teahouses. This document is contained in Yu Zhi's *Deyi lu*, 12:1:8b–9a. See Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua,* 144.

65. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), "Jiehai huilan qi," 2b.

66. Yu revisits this theme in his essay "Jiehai huilan xuqi", written in 1858. Here he argues that the present crisis is due to heavenly anger at human transgression and notes that "if heaven's heart is gladdened by its notice of the infinitesimal element that is a single human life, the fact that we today have already reached the point where millions of living souls have been turned to dust and the earth is made desolate, we know for ourselves that heaven is already enraged. If we wish to avert our catastrophic fate, we must first assuage heaven's anger." He continues, pointing to ruined houses and hearths, piles of white bones in the wilderness, and captives and refugees separated from their wives and children (5a). He recommends saving grain and treasuring the written word as a necessary first step toward transforming customs and "curing" current ills in order to assuage heaven's anger (5b–6a). The third essay in this series, "Jiehai huilan zaixu qi," written in 1864, argues that each individual must accept responsibility for his or her own fate. Instead of saying "the human heart is bad," one should say that "I am bad," since transformation and redemption can be accomplished only through individual reflection and self-cultivation.

67. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), "Jiehai huilan qi," 2a–b.

68. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), "Jiehai huilan qi," 2a.

69. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), "Jiehai huilan qi," 1b. Yu Zhi cites the *Shu nan lu*, ostensibly a seventeenth-century account of Zhang Xianzhong's reign of terror. No such book appears in Lynn Struve's magisterial research guide, *The Ming-Qing Conflict*. A different account of these events appears in Peng Zunsi, "Shu bi." In this version, the rebel, Zhang Xianzhong, spared the community because Wenchang appeared to him in a dream. See Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale,* 80. Apparently, in a heterodox local variant of the cult Zhang Xianzhong was subsequently worshipped in Zitong as an incarnation or relative of the deity—which puts a rather unusual spin on the moral character of the community, particularly in relation to the ruling dynasty! On Zitong as the point of origin of the Wenchang cult, see Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua*, 133, and Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale*, 1–7.

70. Yu Zhi elsewhere reprints guidelines for accumulating merit without spending money. Yu Zhi, "Bu fei qian gongde," *Deyi lu* 16:3:1a–5b.

71. Yu Zhi, "Jiehai huilan qi," 3b–4a. See also "Jiehai huilan xuqi," 5a. The essays appear appended to Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu*, and in Yu Zhi, *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji.*

72. Yu Zhi, "Shuji tang jin yue tici," *Zun Xiaoxue zhai shiyu* (Suzhou: Gu Wu Dejian zhai, 1883), 1b. This is a lyric inscription to accompany the collection of new morally corrective dramas that Yu Zhi composed to reinvigorate orthodox values. The rhyme and rhythm of the lyric are lost in translation; hopefully some of the rhetorical flavor survives.

73. Yu Zhi, "Shuji tang jin yue tici," *Zun Xiaoxue zhai shiyu*, 2a, 1a.

74. Yu Zhi, "Shuji tang jin yue tici," *Zun Xiaoxue zhai shiyu*, 2a.

75. Yu Zhi wrote and signed the preface to the "Pan gong mian zai baojuan." On the basis of detailed analysis of its language and content, Lai Jinxing persuasively argues that the precious volume itself was authored by Yu Zhi. Lai Jinxing, "Wan Qing Jiangnan shishen de cishan shiye ji qi jiaohua linian—yi Yu Zhi (1809–1874) wei zhongxin" (master's thesis, Guoli Chenggong daxue lishi yanjiu suo, 2005), 124.

76. Daniel L. Overmyer, *Precious Volumes: An Introduction to Chinese Sectarian Scriptures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Harvard-Yenching Institute monograph series (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 4. The term *baojuan* could be applied to Buddhist, Daoist, and popular religious texts—and also to moral exhortations. Overmyer notes that by the nineteenth century *baojuan* narrating the experiences of an individual had become more prevalent. This subgenre seems to be less focused on a single religious tradition and had strong entertainment or didactic value, which was also reflected in their commercial publication. Daniel L. Overmyer, "Values in Chinese Sectarian Literature," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan, and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 220.

77. For an account of Pan Zengyi's life and death written by his (famous) fellow Suzhou native, see Feng Guifen, "Gongfu Pan xiansheng muzhiming," in Min Erchang, *Beizhuan ji bu*; see *Qingdai zhuanji congkan*, ed. Zhou Junfu, v. 120, pp. 695–702. On the charitable estate that Pan established in 1827, see Yu Xinzhong,

"Qing zhonghou qi xiangshen de shehui jiuji—Suzhou Fengyu yizhuang yanjiu," *Nankai xuebao zheshe ban* 3 (1997): 62–70.

78. For the title, see Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan" (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1994), 252. On the role of the magistrate of Taishan in assigning the dead to their next incarnations, see Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China*, new ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 169–172.

79. Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale*, 44, 56.

80. See the illustration "A Boat of Mercy in the Sea of Catastrophe," in Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 168. In the introduction to the *baojuan*, Yu Zhi writes that "since [Mr. Pan's] death, the people of Suzhou have lost a benevolent mother and countless among them have drenched their sleeves with tears." He continues, noting that all kinds of people believe that Mr. Pan has been reincarnated as a boddhisatva (166). For additional associations with Guanyin, and for Pan's premonition of disaster, see 172–173, 268–269.

81. Feng Guifen, "Pan Gongfu xiansheng muzhiming," 696–697.

82. Zhang Yongwei, "Taiping tianguo hou de Suzhou, 1863–1896" (master's thesis, National Chung-cheng University, History Department, 2007), 117–128.

83. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 167. An actual list of sponsors is appended after the last chapter. It includes, among others, a benevolence hall in Shanxi that paid for 165 copies. A man from Changzhou sponsored 30 copies in honor of his father, and another Changzhou man paid for publication of 50 copies out of gratitude for having escaped catastrophe (308). The talismanic function of precious volumes is described in Overmyer, "Values in Chinese Sectarian Literature," 276.

84. See Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 187.

85. See for example Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 215–216. The last sentence invites the audience to "come back and listen to the supplemental volumes" in order to learn more about the "unusual and strange examples" of reward and retribution (308).

86. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 185. The names of those willing to take an oath agreeing to follow Mr. Pan's good words were to be recorded on a "seven-story pagoda," a conventional illustration for recording participants in collective philanthropic or religious activities (185–186). For an example of this, see Yu Zhi, *Deyi lu*, 2:44b; note that this *juan* is not subdivided and has continuous pagination and so is cited *juan*: page. The term *hao hua* appears often in the *baojuan* literature. According to Overmyer, it means something like "edifying sermons." Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard East Asia Series, 1976), 184.

87. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," p. 175.

88. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 174.

89. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 175–176. The specific types of philanthropy to be practiced are outlined on pages 179–180. They are congee kitchens, burial assistance, charitable pharmacies, foundling homes, famine relief, the destruction of lewd books, and treasuring the written word.

90. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 180, 190–200.

91. Yuji Muramatsu, "A Documentary Study of Chinese Landlordism in Late Ch'ing and Early Republican Kiangnan," *Bulletin of Oriental and African Studies*, 29:3 (1966): 568. According to Muramatsu, like Mr. Pan, Feng Guifen also owned and operated a rent-collection bursary (583).

92. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 272–273 (repeated in verse, 273–277). A similar list of philanthropic deeds appears in Feng Guifen, "Pan Gongfu xiansheng muzhiming," 697–698.

93. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 277–279. Similar rhetoric of virtue and obligation and subjecthood can be found in an 1810 speech delivered by a magistrate in northwest China on the occasion of the inauguration of Wen, Wu, and Wenchang temples in his subprefecture. *Dingyuan ting zhi*, 25:6a–b, quoted and discussed in Daniel McMahon, "Southern Shaanxi Officials in Early Nineteenth-Century China," *T'oung Pao,* v. 95.4–5 (2009): 120–166. As McMahon points out, this early-nineteenth-century magistrate used the speech to "lay out fundamental guidelines for being an imperial subject," which consisted of obeying imperial orders, abiding by imperial laws, and following the state cult. As in the "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," the fathers and elders are described as responding affirmatively to the magistrate's speech. McMahon associates this speech, and other methods of governance described in his article, with borderland experts and notes that these methods anticipate strategies considered typical of the Tongzhi period.

94. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 279–280.

95. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 281–291. Intemperate use of life-sustaining grain was in some respects analogous to polluting use of the written word; like lascivious dramas or writing in dirty or corrupting contexts, wasting grain angered heaven and called down retribution.

96. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 301–302.

97. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 302–303. Timely payment of taxes also appears as the embodiment of adherence to the kingly way in the second chapter (251).

98. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," pp. 306–308.

99. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 241–243.

100. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 249–251.

101. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 252.

102. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 249. Those who succeed in avoiding disaster include those who "paid their taxes early to repay the emperor's benevolence" as well as those who practiced filial piety and bodily discipline (pp. 249–251).

103. On substituting pictures for words on papers used by businesses as part of the practice of treasuring the written word, see Yu Zhi, *Deyi lu*, 12:1:16a–20b. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 254.

104. For this extraordinary example of product placement, see Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 257–258.

105. Anonymous (Yu Zhi), "Pan gong mian zai baojuan," 266.

106. This is from one of a pair of poems by Yu Zhi titled "Inscribed on *A Man of Iron's Tears for Jiangnan*," "Ti *Jiangnan tielei tu*," *Zun Xiaoxue zhai shiji*, 1:1a. The poems include comments on the evanescence of scenic sites and his experience as a refugee. The poem also points to his efforts to raise money for to help refugees.

107. Wu Shicheng, *Yu Xiaohui xiansheng nianpu*, 12a.

108. For the essay, see Yu Zhi, "Jiesan zeidang shuo" in *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 1:20a–21a. For the comment that he distributed the essay to military officers and encampments, see Wu Shicheng, *Yu Xiaohui xiansheng nianpu*, 12a–b.

109. Yu Zhi, "Jiesan zeidang shuo," in *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 1:20a.

110. Yu Zhi, "Jiesan zeidang shuo," in *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 1:20b–21a. The need to separate "jade from rocks" to prevent "jade and rocks from burning together" was associated with spirit-writing groups in the midnineteenth century. Clart, "Confucius and the Mediums," 11.

111. Wu Shicheng, *Yu Xiaohui xiansheng nianpu*, 12b. The extent to which individuals on the Qing side maintained contact with relatives who had been captured by, or voluntarily sided with, the Taiping warrants further study. James Polachek, for example, has suggested that Feng Guifen's daughter-in-law was the daughter of a man who had made his fortune working as a supplier for the Taiping. James Polacheck, "Gentry Hegemony: Soochow in the T'ung-chih Restoration," in *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, ed. Frederic Wakeman, Jr., and Carolyn Grant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 246.

112. Wu Shicheng, *Yu Xiaohui xiansheng nianpu*, 12b. On *xia* as "brigand," see Bernhardt, pp. 88–89.

113. Yu Zhi, "Shizhuang zhouju tongshan lu xu," in *Zun Xiaoxue zhai shiji*, 2:10a.

114. Yu Zhi, "Shizhuang zhouju tongshan luxu," in *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 2:10b.

115. Yu Zhi, "Shizhuang zhouju tongshan luxu," in *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 2:10b.

116. The essay, like the pictorial collection (discussed below), was intended to inspire and broaden participation in organized relief efforts. It foreshadows later charitable endeavors, such as those that raised money in support of victims of the North China famine in 1878. On the connection between organized philanthropy of the Guangxu period and the charitable relief efforts of the 1860s see Li Wenhai, "Wan Qing yizhen de xingqi yu fazhan," *Qing shi yanjiu* (3/1993): 27–35.

117. Yu Zhi, "Jiangbei quan juan qi," in *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 45a. The same essay also appears in *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji*, 4:14a–16a.

118. Yu Zhi, "Jiangbei quan juan qi ," in *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 46a–47a.

119. Yu Zhi, "Jiangbei quan juan qi," in *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 45b–46a. The same rhetoric of reward and retribution is found in the pamphlets to generate donations for the victims of the North China Famine of 1877–1879. See for example Zheng Guanying, "Fugui yuantou" (The source of wealth and status), published in 1878, cited in You Zian, *Quanshan jinzhen*, 103–104. Another of Zheng's pamphlets, "Chengxian jiejing" (The fast track to becoming an immortal), suggests that by donating generously one would guarantee heavenly protection and favor.

120. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 1a. This passage explains the book's otherwise idiosyncratic title.

121. On *Illustrated Explanations of the Sacred Edict*, see Mair, "Language and Ideology," 330. For comparison with one of Yu Zhi's primers, see the illustrations in Jiyun shanran (Yu Zhi), *Nü ershisi xiao tushuo*; Wujin: Shuang baiyan tang chongkan, reprint, 1872). Published under the same pseudonym as *Tears for Jiangnan*, the illustrations in both books provide dynamic scenes in which violent encounters inspire moral action and good deeds are amply rewarded. See especially 7a.

122. Roger Des Forges, *Cultural Centrality and Political Change in Chinese History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 35–55, and Timothy Brook, "Pictures for an Emperor: Yang Dongming's Memorial on the 1594 Henan Famine" (unpublished paper, cited by permission). According to Brook, the emperor and women from the imperial household responded to the dramatic images and gave generously; in addition, all officials above rank five were asked to donate their salaries. The local gazetteer credited Yang Dongming and his report with saving the people from the famine (19). Yang Dongming was actively involved in philanthropic organizations and wrote a set of regulations for a Benevolence Society. See Fuma, *Chūgoku zenkai zendō shi kenkyū*, 820. This connection between Yang and organized philanthropy seems to suggest a visual culture associated with disaster relief lodged in philanthropic organizations, and intended to inspire donations. For more on Yang Dongming, see Joanna Handlin Smith, *Action in Late Ming Thought: The Reorientation of Lü K'un and Other Scholar-officials*, chap. 3.

123. Brook, "Pictures for an Emperor," 3, 27.

124. Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron*; see for example 133. Brook, "Pictures for an Emperor," 14, 17.

125. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 1a.

126. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 16b–17a.

127. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 33b–34a.

128. Mary Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration, 1862–1874* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957).

129. See for example Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes*, 12.

130. Yan Chen, *Mohua yinguan ganjiu huairen ji* (1889), 56b–57a. For more on Yan Chen, see Mary Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865–1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986) 119, 122–135.

Chapter 3

1. For thugs joining militias, defeated (Qing) troops plundering and looting, and bandits taking advantage of the chaos to prey upon the unfortunate, see Hua Yilun, *Xi Jin tuanlian shimo ji*, unpaginated manuscript, 1864, housed in the Shanghai Library. Hua describes official venality, ambiguous allegiances, brutality, and opportunism. His account excoriates the Qing forces for destroying civilian homes; he personally lost sixty buildings and a valuable private library in the conflagration in 1863. He bemoans the fact that his library survived several years of rebel occupation only to be destroyed in the Qing reconquest. Hua's book reflects deep frustration

with the Qing military establishment and with Li Hongzhang. Hua was a native of Jinkui (modern Wuxi). He held the *juren* degree and served as a magistrate in Jiangxi. He was a collector and a painter, as well as a militia leader in his home district. His native place was not far from that of Yu Zhi.

2. Xu Feng'en and Feng Junyi, "Zhuanxi yusheng ji," in *Congshu jicheng xubian*, Shibu, Zashi lei, shishi zhi shu, Vol. 25 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1994), 928.

3. For one example of this, see Hua Yilun, who writes: "The residents who escaped from the city only wanted to go home and those in rural areas used the name 'presenting tribute' to give cattle, sheep, food, and rice to the rebels and thus avoided further killing and pillaging." Hua Yilun, *Xi Jin tuanlian shimo ji*.

4. Li Gui and other Chinese writers, among them Zhang Dejian (one of Zeng Guofan's secretaries and the author of the *Zeiqing huizuan*, an intelligence report on the rebels), were fascinated by boy soldiers or "little rebels," teenage boys who they identify as the sexual playthings of the officers and whose penchant for violence and mayhem contrasted with the prettiness of their skin and faces. See for example, Li Gui, "Si tong ji," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixuehui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), vol. 4, p. 474. For a foreigner's account of these "boy soldiers," see Robert J. Forrest, "A Report by Mr. Forrest of Journey from Shanghae to Nanking," Inclosure 7 in Number 6, *Correspondence Respecting the Opening of the Yang-tze-kiang River to Foreign Trade* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1861), 29. Forrest describes them as full "of insolent swagger and airs." Observations about boy soldiers seem to have become conventional; they are mentioned in many Western accounts.

5. Confucius praised Guan Zhong for refusing to submit to "barbarians": "But for Guan Zhong we should now be wearing our hair unbound and the lapels of our clothes would button on the left side" [translation modified slightly for clarity]. Quoted and discussed in Weikun Cheng, "Politics of the Queue: Agitation and Resistance in the Beginning and End of Qing China," in *Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures*, ed. Alf Hiltebeitel and Barbara D. Miller (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998), 127.

6. For an overview of the political significance of hair during the early and late Qing, see Weikun Cheng, "Politics of the Queue." Cheng does not, however, discuss the significance of hair in the Taiping period.

7. James Cole, *The People Versus the Taiping: Bao Lisheng's Righteous Army of Dongan* (Berkeley: China Research Monographs, 1981), 26. Bao Lisheng was, like Hong Xiuquan, a religious visionary with supernatural skills and charisma. He was a peasant who mobilized a militia. Some among his followers were members of the local gentry. However, he presented himself as a defender of local interests acting at least nominally in service to the dynasty (23–29, 31). The dynasty treated him as a sectarian during his lifetime but canonized him posthumously. He is praised for his willingness to die for the dynasty—and for possessing loyalty superior to that of many officials (41–43).

8. John Withers cites "*Jinling bei nan ji*," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixuehui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe,

1957), vol. 4, p. 749. Withers, "The Heavenly Capital: Nanjing Under the Taiping" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983), 75–76.

9. Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," 174, cites Forrest in Thomas Wright Blakiston (Late Captain Royal Artillery), *Five Months on the Yang-Tsze, and Notices of the Present Rebellion in China* (London: J. Murray, 1862), 33. Also, Lewin Benthan Bowring, *Eastern Experiences* (London: Henry S. King, 1871), 346.

10. Dai Xi, "Wumen bei nan jilue," in *Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan xubian: Taiping tianguo*, ed. Liu Ergang et al. (Guilin, Guangxi renmin chubanshe), vol. 4, p. 398.

11. Forrest, reproduced in Blakiston, *Five Months on the Yang-Tsze*, 33.

12. Dai Xi, "Wumen bei nan jilue," 398.

13. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 487.

14. See Yu Zhi, "Jiesan zeidang shuo," in Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji, 1:20a–21a. For another example of this argument from the period under consideration, see Xu Rixiang, "Gengshen Jiangyin nan Changshu xibei xiang riji," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixuehui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chuban she, 1957), vol. 5, p. 437. The author was a *shengyuan* from Changshu.

15. Civilian and military officials anticipated that the populace might sympathize with the enemy, and that the poor in particular might be willing to serve as spies for the other side. Indeed, military handbooks conventionally devoted significant attention to prevention of espionage through increased surveillance and control. Herbert Franke, "Siege and Defense of Towns in Medieval China," in *Chinese Ways in Warfare*, ed. Edward L. Dreyer, Frank Algerton Kierman, and John King Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 157.

16. Miao Peilin, a degree holder and militiaman who served the Nian, the Taiping, and the Qing, is but one of many stunning examples of repeated side-switching. See Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), vol. 2, p. 633. Also, Li Xiucheng, *Taiping Rebel: The Deposition of Li Hsiu-Ch'eng*, ed. Charles Anthony Curwen (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 263–264 nn. 56, 57.

17. Shen Zi, "Bi kou riji," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Luo Ergang et al., vol. 8, p. 13.

18. Wang Daoping, a Taiping spy in Hangzhou, was believed to have disguised himself as an itinerant fortune teller. Xu Feng'en, "Zhuanxi yusheng ji" in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixuehui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), vol. 4, p. 515. Also cited in Li Xiucheng, ed. Curwen, *Taiping Rebel*, 231 n. 46.

19. Wang Haiping et al., eds. *Jinkui xian Anzhen yu kou jilue* (unpaginated manuscript, Shanghai Library), *juan* 6, "Nanmin gong'an" (Depositions from refugees).

20. Fang Yurun, "Xinglie riji," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Luo Ergang et al., vol. 7, p. 20.

21. See Li Xiucheng, ed. Curwen, *Taiping Rebel*, 230 n. 45.

22. On bandits who impersonated rebels in the vicinity of Tongcheng, Anhui, in 1853, see Hu Qianfu, "Feng he shilu", in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixuehui,

Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), vol. 5, p. 6. The editors of the *Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan* note that the manuscript, together with another work by the same author, was originally catalogued under the title "Wanbei Hong Yang zhanhuo ji" (A record of the disastrous war of Hong [Xiuquan] and Yang [Xiuqing] in northern Anhui).

23. This was observed in the vicinity of Suzhou in 1860. Dai Xi, "Wumen bei nan jilue," 397.

24. Again, this was typical. See Herbert Franke, "Siege and Defense of Towns in Medieval China," 158. He cites the *Wubei jiyao* (Essentials for military preparedness), an early-nineteenth-century military manual (ca. 1830) observing that spies and traitors most often pose as itinerants like monks, travelers, fortune tellers, tailors, produce vendors, barbers, and pedicurists.

25. See "A Letter from Reverend Griffith John," Archives of the London Missionary Society, Central China, Letters, Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket D, reprinted in *Western Reports on the Taiping: A Selection of Documents*, ed. Prescott Clarke and J. S. Gregory (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1982), 296.

26. Lindesey Brine, *The Taeping Rebellion in China: A Narrative of Its Rise and Progress, Based upon Original Documents and Information Obtained in China* (London: John Murray, 1862), quoting Elgin, 222.

27. Joseph Edkins, "A Narrative of a Visit to Nanking," in *Chinese Scenes and People*, by Jane Rowbotham Edkins, (London: J. Nesbit, 1863), 248–249.

28. "A Letter from Reverend Griffith John," reprinted in *Western Reports on the Taiping: A Selection of Documents,* ed. Prescott Clarke and J. S. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1982), 296.

29. Fang Yurun, "Xinglie riji," p. 13.

30. Anonymous, "Dongnan jilue," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixuehui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), vol. 5, pp. 231–238; cited in Curwen, 230–231 n. 45.

31. Zhou Bangfu, "Mengnan shuchao," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixuehui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), vol. 5, p. 53.

32. Yingjie et al., eds., *Xuzuan Yangzhou fuzhi*, 1874, 24:20a.

33. This is described in "A Report by Mr. Forrest of Journey from Shanghae to Nanking," 27. The man's name appears in dialect transliteration in Forrest; the standard reading of his name is Fei Xiuyuan. Also, see Jia Shucun, "Taiping tianguo shiqi de Zhouzhuang zhen" (Zhouzhuang during the period of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom), *Guangxi shifan daxue xuebao: Zhexue shehui kexue ban* 38.1 (January 2002): 95–99; and Jeremy Brown's excellent study, "Rebels, Rent, and Tao Xu: Local Elite Identity and Conflict During and After the Taiping Occupation of Jiangnan, 1860–64," *Late Imperial China* 30.2 (December 2009): 9–38.

34. For more on individuals at Zhouzhuang who were both rebel officials and low-level Qing examination elites or officials, see Dai Xi, "Wumen bei nan jilue," 401–402.

35. Many of the memoir sources note the failings of Qing officials. See for exam-

ple Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji*. Qingdai shiliao biji congkan. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 37–40.

36. That Qing soldiers and militias abused civilians was common knowledge among contemporaries; observations to this effect are ubiquitous even in works that have been catalogued as sympathetic to the Qing by post-1949 editors.

37. This point is made by many contemporary authors, Chinese, American, and European. See for example, Brine, *The Taeping Rebellion in China*, 250–251.

38. This terminology is mentioned in many sources and seems related to chess or mahjong (*pai* literally means "card" or "tile"). I have tried to suggest the connection to gaming with the English words "heads" and "tails." See for example, Zhao Yucun, "Bei lu jilue", in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Luo Ergang et al., vol. 4, pp. 404–405.

39. See for example the testimony of the itinerant vegetable seller and hired laborer with a criminal past in Wang Haiping et al., eds., *Jinkui xian Anzhen yu kou jilue*, *juan* 6, "Refugee Depositions." These materials are from the summer of 1860, not long after the county seats fell to the Taiping.

40. The rebels seem to have taken special interest in tailors. Li Gui recalls that he and his brother were first asked if they could write, and when they demurred, they were asked whether they could sew. When they replied that they could not, they were deemed useless for anything other than odd jobs. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 473. Under the Taiping regime, skilled workers were at least theoretically organized into twenty-five-person residential and work units called *guan*. These were determined by occupation. Women were also assigned into (separate) *guan*.

41. All of the questions in this paragraph derive from or are inspired by testimony found in Wang et al., *Jinkui Anzhen yu kou jilue*, *juan* 6, "Refugee Depositions."

42. Elizabeth J. Perry, "When Peasants Speak: Sources for the Study of Chinese Rebellions," *Modern China* 6:1 (January 1980), 80–82. Perry cites Gong zhong dang, n.d.: 005561 and n.d.: 005197; for a cruciform brand mark, she cites Gong zhong dang, n.d.: 005540.

43. Perry, "When Peasants Speak," 79–80. Perry cites Gong zhong dang, n.d.: 004269, 004517.

44. For a late-nineteenth-century compilation on the practice of tattooing in Qing China, as both state-sanctioned and locally elaborated practice, see Shen Jiaben, *Cizi ji*, 1886, Reprint: Jingdu ronglu tang, 1894. Thanks to Li Chen for sharing this important source.

45. For a description of the cangue, see Derk Bodde and Clarence Morris, *Law in Imperial China Exemplified by 190 Ch'ing Dynasty Cases* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), 95–96.

46. For discussion of the misbehavior of some militias in this part of Jiangsu as harmful to the Qing cause, see Xu Rixiang, "Gengshen Jiangyin nan Changshu xibei xiang riji," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shi xue hui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), vol. 5, p. 435.

47. Wang et al., *Jinkui Anzhen yu kou jilue, juan* 6, "Refugee Depositions."

48. It is difficult to tell the extent to which references to tattooing evoked images and meanings associated with the band of sworn brothers in the novel *Shuihu*

zhuan (The water margin), some of whom were punitively or decoratively tattooed. Images from *Shuihu zhuan* are frequently embedded in nineteenth-century accounts of martial endeavors including accounts of the Taiping war. I would like to thank Ke Ren for pointing this out.

49. Barend J. ter Haar, "Rethinking 'Violence' in Chinese Culture," in *Meanings of Violence: A Cross Cultural Perspective*, ed. J. Abbink and Göran Aijmer (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 136–137.

50. For one of many examples of "jade and stone," see Jiyun Shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu* (Suzhou: Yuanmiao guan ma'nao jingfang, n.d.), 2b–3a.

51. Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," 116.

52. For a typology of tattooing as seen in early Chinese texts, see Carrie E. Reed, "Early Chinese Tattoo," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 103 (June 2000), 1–52. She notes that all of the types of tattooing discussed in the article, with the exception of the last category, "are described as inherently opprobrious; people bearing them are stigmatized as impure, defiled, shameful, or uncivilized" (3). On the history of tattooing as punishment in ancient China, see pp. 12–18.

53. Huang Liu-Hung, *A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence: A Manual for Local Magistrates in Seventeenth-Century China*, trans. Djang Chu (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), 283.

54. According to Barend ter Haar, "maiming punishments (such as tattooing and the amputation of body parts, such as ears, nose, hands and feet, and sexual organs) were used increasingly seldom from the Western Han onwards and discontinued formally in the Sui code." Barend J. ter Haar, "Rethinking 'Violence' in Chinese Culture," 136.

55. Djang Chu, "Translator's Introduction," in *A Complete Book of Happiness and Benevolence*, by Huang Liu-Hung, 39.

56. Djang Chu, "Translator's Introduction," *A Complete Book of Happiness and Benevolence*, by Huang Liu-Hung, 39. On revision of the law to mandate facial tattooing in all cases, see Fu-mei Chang Chen, "Local Control of Thieves in Eighteenth-Century China," in *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, ed. Frederic Wakeman and Carolyn Grant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 129. See also Bodde and Morris, *Law in Imperial China,* 96–97.

57. Chen, "Local Control of Thieves," 128. Bodde and Morris, *Law in Imperial China*, 295–296, 298. Joanna Waley-Cohen, *Exile in Mid-Qing China: Banishment to Xinjiang, 1758–1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991, 117.

58. Chen, "Local Control of Thieves," 129.

59. Joanna Waley-Cohen, *Exile in Mid-Qing China*, 112. For a list of characters conventionally used in convict tattoos, see p. 116. The list includes both crimes and place names.

60. Waley-Cohen, *Exile in Mid-Qing China*, 118. On the use of moxibustion see Reed, "Early Chinese Tattoo," 25. Also, Article 281 of the Qing penal code forbids removal of tattoos other than by the authorities. See William C. Jones et al., trans., *The Great Qing Code* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 266–267.

61. Reed, "Early Chinese Tattoo," 21–22. Here she cites mostly Song sources.

In his *Zizhi tongjian* (Comprehensive mirror for aid in government), Sima Guang (1019–1086) notes that in 907 the first emperor of the Later Liang had his soldiers tattooed to prevent them from escaping. The soldiers became homesick and tried to escape, but villagers would not give refuge to the marked men, fearing reprisals. The tattooed men then gathered in the mountains and turned to banditry. Later, in a general amnesty, they were able finally to return home, which greatly reduced the bandit problem. Reed paraphrases from *Zizhi tongjian*, Sibu beiyao edition, 266:14b–15a.

62. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 481.

63. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 481. The Taiping referred to the Manchus as demons (*yao*).

64. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 481.

65. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 481–2.

66. Jane Caplan, introduction to *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History* (London: Reaktion Books), xvi. On the association between tattooing, "savagery," and "criminality" in nineteenth-century Europe and its colonies, see Clare Anderson, "*Godna*: Inscribing Indian Convicts in the Nineteenth Century," in *Written on the Body*, ed. Caplan, particularly 106–115. On the practice of branding convicts with the initials of their crimes in early modern Europe, see p. 106.

67. *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, vol. XIII (1 August 1862) (London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1862), 337. This account also emphasizes the pathos, desolation, and misery of forced captivity. The column continues, describing Taiping iconoclasm and the missionaries' disappointment that the rebels aren't more authentically Christian.

68. See H. S. Parkes, letter to Frederick Bruce, in *Papers Related to the Rebellion in China and Trade in the Yang-tze-kiang*, in *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons* [Great Britain], vol. LXIII, Session 6 February–7 August 1862 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1862), 26. Parkes's letter reported on conditions observed during an expedition begun in February 1861 to both rebel- and Qing-held areas along the Yangzi River with an eye to the opening of the river to British trade. It bears the date May 10, 1861.

69. Forrest, "A Report by Mr. Forrest," 27. The British consular official traveled to Taiping territory with the Rev. J. Edkins to gather information.

70. Blakiston, quoting Forrest, *Five Months on the Yang-Tsze*, 52–53. The relevant excerpt appears also in Franz Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents,* vol. 3, p. 1149. Michael also notes that Blakiston considered Forrest an expert on the Taiping and quoted him extensively. Forrest also seems to have had a strong interest in promoting trade between the British and the Taiping (1151–1155). On Forrest, see also Teng Ssu-yü, *The Taiping Rebellion and the Western Powers: A Comprehensive Survey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 187–208, 326.

71. Forrest, "A Report by Mr. Forrest," 27–28.

72. Brine, *The Taeping Rebellion in China*, chap. 12; see especially 274–280. The text appears, in different order, in Forrest's consular report. Blakiston, *Five Months on the Yang-Tsze*, 6–55.

73. Brine, *The Taeping Rebellion in China*, 280. Forrest addressed the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on at least several occasions; he pub-

lished in their journal and was elected an officer of the society in 1868. See "Report of the Council of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the Year 1868," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 5:iii.

74. Lu Sicheng et al., eds., *Guangxu Jiangyin xian zhi* (1878), 8:20b. See also Tang Chenglie and Dong Sigu, *Wujin Yanghu xian zhi* (1879), 29:13a.

75. Cheng, "Politics of the Queue," 123–142.

76. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1999), 38.

77. Frederic E. Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), vol. 1, p. 647.

78. For example, in the *Xiaojing* (Classic of Filial Piety) Confucius tells Zengzi that "filial piety is the thing most necessary for civilized society and that the basis of filial piety lies in avoiding injury to the skin, hair, and body that one receives from one's parents." *Xiaojing zhushu*, in Ruan Yuan, *Shisan jing zhushu*, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979, 1.2545, quoted in Reed, "Early Chinese Tattoo," 13.

79. Wakeman, *Great Enterprise*, vol. 1, p. 650.

80. Wakeman, *Great Enterprise*, vol. 1, p. 651.

81. Philip Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 56–58.

82. Kuhn, *Soulstealers*, 58.

83. Kuhn, *Soulstealers*, 58–59.

84. On hair as a site of resistance to Qing rule, see Ryū Kaori, *Danpatsu: Kindai higashi Ajia no bunka shōtotsu* (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1990); on the Taiping period, see pp. 76–81. Discussion of the Taiping period is relatively underdeveloped; the author's main sources are Augustus Lindley and Lu Xun. In one of his essays, Lu Xun describes how an elderly woman in his family recalled being equally frightened by the "Long Hairs," the "Short Hairs," and the "Flowery Green Heads" (i.e., the Taiping, the Qing, and the foreigners). The point here seems to be that although they had differing hairstyles they were, from the perspective of the populace, equally disastrous. See Ryū, *Danpatsu,* 76.

85. This is a point of confusion in the secondary scholarship; the Taiping are often imagined with unbound and wild hair. See for example Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 2nd ed., 174.

86. For example, one observer wrote: "Although the head is never shaved in the front, they do not dispense with the tail, still keeping it plaited, sometimes with red and yellow silk—It is tied up behind and tucked under the cap." Quoted in "Mr. Bridgman's Correspondence," *North China Herald*, 3 January 1857; and "Dr McGowan's Correspondence," in *North China Herald*, 25 April and 9 May 1857; see Curwen, p. 200. Zhou Bangfu describes the "Long Hairs" as "binding their heads with red turbans, on their bodies they wear short green jackets." When they arrived outside the city walls of his hometown of Hefei in 1853, they looked "just like red shrimps bubbling forth." Zhou Bangfu, "Mengnan shuchao," Zhongguo shixuehui, eds., *Taiping tianguo*, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957, 5, p. 46.

87. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 472. Elsewhere, Li quotes a rebel boss who mutters that "one year was the same as twenty and his forehead hair was already as long as his braid" (478). This edition of the "Si tong ji" follows the 1914 edition, which included parenthetical interpolations in small characters ostensibly based on a Qing manuscript copy. These interpolations cumulatively make the case that the most violent among the rebels (including the Hunanese man) were former Qing soldiers. However, in their introduction to the "Jinling bingshi huilue," also by Li Gui, the editors of a more recent collection of materials from this period note that these interpolations are of dubious provenance and should not be trusted. See *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Luo Ergang et al., vol. 4, pp. 238–321. I have thus avoided citing the interpolations.

88. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 491–492.

89. Hong Ren'gan, "A Hero's Return to Truth (Qinding yingjie guizhen)," in Franz Michael, ed. *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*, Vol. 3, pp. 814–815.

90. Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji*, 50.

91. Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji*, 52.

92. This seems well attested. See for example Arthur Evans Moule, *Personal Recollections of the Tai-p'ing Rebellion, 1861–3* (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury, 1898), 24.

93. Zhang Jigeng, "Zhang Jigeng yigao," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixuehui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), vol. 4, p. 773. Zhang, a native of Jiangning, received posthumous honors for loyalty and was listed in the *Liangjiang zhongyi lu*, 755.

94. Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji,* 69.

95. Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji,* 74.

96. Li Xiucheng, ed. Curwen, *Taiping Rebel*, 300 n. 50.

97. Zhao Liewen, "Zhao Liewen riji," p. 380, cited in Li Xiucheng, ed. Curwen, *Taiping Rebel*, 26–27.

98. Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji*, 62, 64.

99. Zhao Yucun, "Bei lu jilue," 413.

100. See for example Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 469.

101. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 4b–5a.

102. Zhao Yucun, "Bei lu jilue," 403.

103. This large and detailed painting showing the walled city of Nanjing, a battle, and a lively market outside the walls is incorrectly identified in the Library of Congress catalogue as a depiction of the Qing army's recapture of Nanjing in 1864. In fact, the painting depicts the Great Jiangnan Encampment under Xiang Rong, who died in 1856. The supplied title "Qing jun guang fu Nanjing tu" (The Qing army reconquers Nanjing) is anachronistic; the scene shown is not the reconquest. The writing identifying "barbers," "tailors," and other occupational groups seems to have been added later (the characters for "barber," for example, are written in the modern way, from left to right, and the ink used for these captions has a different color and quality; thanks to Lee Hui-Shu for confirming this). "Qing jun guang fu Nanjing tu," Library of Congress, Map Collection, G7824.N3R3 1865 .Q5. The entire work can be viewed online at http://www.loc.gov/item/gm%2071005033.

104. Zhao Yucun escaped from captivity and was robbed of his clothes. When he arrived at a military outpost, an officer first gave him clothing and then sent him (with a name card by way of introduction) to a barber on the main street to have his head shaved. Zhao Yucun, "Bei lu jilue," 413.

105. Dai Xi, "Wumen bei nan jilue," 399.

106. Zhao Yucun, "Bei lu jilue," 406.

107. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 495.

108. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 496.

109. On Li Gui's trip around the world by way of the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876, see Charles Desnoyers, *A Journey to the East: Li Gui's "A New Account of a Trip Around the Globe"* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004). For a brief comment on the "New Account of a Trip Around the World," including mention of the release of the "Si tong ji," see "Shu *Huanyou diqiu xinlu* hou," *Shenbao,* vol. 3231, p. 3, 05/02/1882.

110. Perry, "When Rebels Speak," 80; for this example, she cites Gong zhong dang, n.d.: 004628. Strikingly, this motif of "changing sides" by "changing clothes" appears in all of the examples cited by Perry.

111. Zhang Jigeng, "Zhang Jigeng yigao," 773.

112. For example, Ke Wuchi looks for "long hairs" in Changshu style clothing in order to establish a connection. He persuades one to help him on the basis of shared local origins. Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji*, 63.

113. See Dai Xi, "Wumen bei nan jilue," 397.

114. Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," 73–74.

115. Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," 77.

116. Xie Jiehe, "Jinling guijia jishi lue," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixue hui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), v. 4, p. 681. Quoted in Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," 77. The translation is his.

117. Wang Shiduo, cited in Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," 79.

118. Ding Chao, "Qingdai huang magua yuanliu kao," *Qing shi yanjiu* 2 (May 2011). On the jacket's association with imperial prerogative, see pp. 127–129; for discussion specifically on the Taiping, see p. 131.

119. See Tcheng Ki-tong (Chen Jitong) and John Henry Gray, *The Chinese Empire: Past and Present* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1900), 103.

120. Ding Chao, "Qingdai huang magua yuanliu," 128–129.

121. Charles Taylor, *Five Years in China* (Nashville, Tenn.: J. B. McFerrin; New York: Derby Jackson, 1860), 343.

122. Taylor, *Five Years in China*, 343.

123. Taylor, *Five Years in China*, 348.

124. Taylor, *Five Years in China*, 350.

125. Taylor, *Five Years in China*, 348–349.

126. Augustus F. Lindley, *Ti-Ping Tien-Kwoh: The History of the Ti-Ping Revolution, Including a Narrative of the Author's Personal Adventures* (London: Day & Son, 1866), 67–68. Lindley's account contains many fanciful details, as well as excerpts

from contemporary newspapers. It is thoroughly researched, but also deliberately sensationalist and utterly biased.

127. Lindley, *Ti-Ping Tien Kwoh*, 69–70.

128. Lindley, *Ti-Ping Tien-Kwoh*, 68–69.

129. Li Wenhai and Liu Yangdong make a similar point regarding European accounts of Taiping costume. Li Wenhai and Liu Yangdong, *Taiping tianguo shehui fengqing* (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 1989), 42–43.

130. "A Report by W. H. Medhurst and Lewin Bowring," FO 17/214, no. 85, enc. In Bowring to Clarendon, 14 July 1854, included in Clarke and Gregory, *Western Reports on the Taiping*, 164–165. This description is from a special section of the report dedicated to clothing and food.

131. Bowring, *Eastern Experiences*, 337 *passim*.

132. Bowring, *Eastern Experiences*, 356.

133. Forrest, quoted in Blakiston, *Five Months on the Yang-tsze*, 13.

134. "A Report by Harry S. Parkes," British Parliamentary Papers, 1862, C. 2976, pp. 25–27, 35, reproduced in Clarke and Gregory, *Western Reports on the Taiping*, 318–319. Parkes by then sought to undermine British support for the Taiping and bring about a military intervention against them. Parkes also describes the clothing of the Taiping rank and file as "gaudy," "motley," and "slovenly," but apart from the showiness of their accessories he finds their costume not dissimilar from those of other Chinese (318). Similar description, although with a more glib tone, can also be found in "A Letter from Alexander Michie," British Parliamentary Papers, 1862, C.2976, in Clarke and Gregory, 328–330. Michie was a British businessman and also (later) the author of several books about China. His report reflects concern in the treaty-port business community that the rebellion would have a negative impact on trade. He visited Nanjing for a week in March 1861, stayed in a palace, and enjoyed rebel hospitality. He was impressed by the internal condition of the rebels, whom he describes as well-fed and well-clothed, but he concludes that they lived on loot (329).

135. Garnet Wolseley, Viscount Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China in 1860* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), 336.

136. Wolseley, *Narrative of the War with China*, 338–339. He adds that it is whimsical enough for some monster in a Christmas pantomime (339)!

137. On Harvey's hostility to the Taiping, see Clarke and Gregory, *Western Reports on the Taiping*, 368–369. For Harvey's report, dated 20 March 1862, see *Further Papers Related to the Rebellion in China*, in *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons* [Great Britain], vol. LXIII, session 6 February–7 August 1862 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1862), 14–15. Harvey was the British consul in the city of Ningbo, which at the time of writing was occupied by the Taiping.

138. Harvey, Report, 16.

139. See Tobie Meyer-Fong, "Gathering in a Ruined City: Metaphor, Practice, and Recovery in Post-Taiping Yangzhou," in *Lifestyle and Entertainment in Yangzhou*, ed. Lucie B. Olivova and Vibeke Børdahl (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2009), 41–42, for examples.

Chapter 4

1. Portions of this chapter have been published in Chinese translation as "Zhengzhi yu shijian: Taiping tianguo zhanzheng yihou Jiangnan chengshi de sangzang huodong," trans. Liu Zongling, in *Ming-Qing yilai Jiangnan chengshi fazhan yu wenhua jiaoliu*," eds. Zhou Zhenhuan and Huang Jingbin (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2012), 161–176.

2. On discourses regarding death and the dead in Civil War America, see John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005); Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering* (New York: Knopf, 2008); and Mark S. Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). On Vietnam, see Heonik Kwon, *After the Massacre: Commemoration and Consolation in Ha My and My Lai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) and *Ghosts of War in Vietnam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). On seventeenth-century Korea, see JaHyun Kim Haboush, "Dead Bodies in the Postwar Discourse of Identity in Seventeenth-Century Korea," *Journal of Asian Studies* 62.2 (2003): 415–442. On the former Yugoslavia, see Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Post-socialist Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

3. On expectations regarding care for the dead in Eastern Europe, see Verdery, *Political Lives*, 41–47. There are striking similarities to the Chinese case. For instance, according to Transylvanian and Hungarian tradition, relatives provided meals and gifts to propitiate the dead, believing that a well-cared-for soul will protect relatives, and conversely a disgruntled soul will return and cause havoc (43).

4. See for example the principles of inclusion to the 1863 morality book, *Renfan xu zhi* (Rules for living that everyone should know), which state that funerals were of signal importance to the sages and a priority in ritual and moral teaching (*mingjiao*). *Fanli*, 2. The book is a pastiche of excerpts from other morality texts. The section on parents in the first *juan* includes lengthy excerpts detailing what constituted a "good death" and "proper burial" by "Confucian" standards in Jiangnan during the late Qing. See for example 41–43. Sheng Long. *Chongyin Renfan xu zhi* (Shanghai: Daode shuju, reprint 1942). Sheng Long lost one of his sons in the Taiping occupation of Hangzhou. He understood, from personal experience, the difficulty of achieving the peaceful death at home surrounded by relatives that was prized by those committed to moral education. Thanks to Susan Mann for sharing this source.

5. Ding Bing, a leading philanthropist in post-Taiping Hangzhou and the editor of an important collection of materials dealing with the capture of that city by the Taiping forces in 1860 and 1861, made at least some of his fortune as a joss-paper merchant, a dealer in the tinned paper that was used to make spirit money, which was burned for use by the dead in the afterlife. He was, as we will see, also quite involved in constructing charitable cemeteries and shrines to honor the dead.

6. Feng Xianliang, "Fenying yizhong: Ming-Qing Jiangnan de minzhong shenghuo yu huanjing baohu," *Zhongguo shehui lishi pinglun* 7 (October 2006), 161–162.

7. Caroline Reeves makes similar points in "Grave Concerns: Bodies, Burial, and Identity in Early Republican China," in *Cities in Motion: Interior, Coast, and*

Diaspora in Transnational China, ed. Sherman Cochran and David Strand (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2007), 27–52. On the role of the state as the "ultimate guarantor of correct burial for the dead," she cites Chu Tsung-tsu, *Local Government under the Ch'ing* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), 148. Chu writes that "underlying this situation was the Chinese philosophy of government, which decreed that every organized activity that concerned the general welfare of the populace was the concern of the government." See Reeves, "Grave Concerns," 31.

8. Jin Changfu, *Guihai riji*, unpaginated manuscript, Chinese Academy of Sciences Library. For more on Jin's diary, see Meyer-Fong, "Gathering in a Ruined City." This poem is also discussed in the article.

9. Jin Changfu's manuscript poetry collection includes several poems about ghosts. Jin Changfu, *Hongxue yin guan shiji*. This unpaginated manuscript in the Nanjing Library appears to have been under preparation for publication by the author's son. There are strips of paper pasted and placed in the manuscript. Some of these include instructions to the publisher; for example, several of the poems about ghosts are marked "do not print this."

10. On somatic integrity, see Timothy Brook, Jérôme Bourgon, and Gregory Blue, *Death by a Thousand Cuts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 11.

11. For Chinese accounts, see below. A. E. Hake noted that human flesh was for sale for two pence per pound during the siege of Hangzhou in 1861. A. E. Hake, *The Events of the Taeping Rebellion* (London: W. H. Allen, 1891), 176–177, cited in Pamela Kyle Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 133.

12. A Qing physician, Xiong Lipin, identified contact with corpses and coffins as a possible cause of epidemic disease. According to Shigehisa Kuriyama, this connection had been suggested centuries earlier. Shigehisa Kuriyama, "Epidemics, Weather, and Contagion in Traditional Chinese Medicine," in *Contagion: Perspectives from Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad and Dominik Wujastyk (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), 6. Kuriyama emphasizes, however, that other factors, especially weather, were often held to be more significant in causing disease than contagion was. With regard to the relationship between corpses and disease, it was popularly believed that "worms" from dead bodies transmitted wasting diseases to the living. See Bridie Andrews, "Tuberculosis and the Assimilation of Germ-Theory in China, 1895–1937," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 52, no. 1 (January 1997): 126. The connection between corpses and infectious disease seems obvious, but corpses themselves are not in fact a major cause of epidemics. J. M. Conly and B. L. Johnston, "Natural Disasters, Corpses and the Risk of Infectious Diseases," *Canadian Journal of Infectious Diseases & Medical Microbiology* 16, no. 5 (2005): 269–270. Thanks to Marta Hanson, Yi-Li Wu, and Carol Benedict for these references.

13. According to Huang Liuhong's much reprinted manual for magistrates, *A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence*, "the exposure of a corpse is contrary to the humanitarian tradition, and disturbing a person's remains will

incur the wrath of his spirit." Huang Liu-hung, *A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence: A Manual for Local Magistrates in Seventeenth-Century China*, trans. Djang Chu (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 447–448.

14. Brook et al., *Death by a Thousand Cuts,* 93. The Qing Code explicitly prohibited the act of opening a grave and exposing the coffin or vault, mandating one hundred strokes and permanent exile. Exposing the corpse was punishable by strangulation after a period of imprisonment. J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China: Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect, Manners, Customs and Social Institutions Connected Therewith*, 6 vols. (Reprint. Taipei: Ch'eng Wen, 1892), vol. 3, pp. 868–869. Additional laws for the protection of corpses, coffins, and graves can be found in translation in de Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 3, pp. 868–902.

15. For rumors about desecration of coffins by the Taiping forces, see Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji* (Wuzhong [Suzhou], 1890), 34a–b. On a philanthropist who buried coffins to prevent their desecration, see Yu Yue's biography of Ding Bing, "Ding jun Songsheng jiazhuan," in "Xu beizhuan ji," ed. Miu Quansun, vol. 5 (*juan* 68–86), in *Qingdai zhuanji congkan*, ed. Zhou Junfu (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), 119: 635–643. Both of these examples are from Hangzhou.

16. On hunger cannibalism or cannibalism of desperation, see Frederic Mote, "Yuan and Ming," in *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. K. C. Chang (New Haven: Yale University Press), 243. Mote notes that cannibalism of desperation functioned as a symbolic measure of calamity in these earlier dynasties as well. Desperation cannibalism also reportedly accompanied the Great North China Famine of the late 1870s and the nationwide famine of 1959–1961 that resulted from the Great Leap Forward. On the latter, see Arthur and Joan Kleinman. "The Appeal of Experience; The Dismay of Images: Cultural Appropriations of Suffering in Our Times," *Daedalus* 125.1 (Winter 1996): 16–17. The authors cite Central Committee, Chinese Communist Party, "Internal Report," Annals for Feng Yang County, 1961, 188–191.

17. Zhao Wenlie, "Neng jing ju riji," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Luo Ergang, Wang Qingcheng, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan xubian (Guilin: Guangxi renmin chubanshe, 2004), vol. 7, p. 108. Zhao Wenlie's informant reports that in Anqing during the previous month, human flesh was selling for 50 wen per liang, 40 wen for freshly killed. Zhao's informant reports that upon breaking into rebel residences, they found that the stew pots were all filled with hands and feet. According to Stephen R. Platt, "Roughly speaking, at US$1.40 per tael of silver in 1861, the price for human meat in Anqing reached something like 40 or 50 cents per pound (50 wen per liang, 10 liang per jin or 1.3 pounds, at 1000 wen per tael though that fluctuated). Which is equivalent to $10 per pound of flesh in today's money. That seems incredibly expensive, and it's several times higher than the prices Zeng quotes in 1863." Stephen R. Platt, personal communication, November 10, 2009. Many sources provide the market price for human flesh. See for example Hu Changling, "Jiande zhai suibi," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixue hui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguang she, 1953). vol. 6, p. 761. Cited by Suzuki Chūsei, *Chūgoku shi ni okeru kakumei to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Tokyo

University Press, 1974), 277. For the prevalence of similar conditions and use of familiar imagery to describe them in North China during the North China Famine (1876–1879), see Lillian Li, *Fighting Famine*, 273–274.

18. As in the practice of eating the liver, heart, or genitals of one's enemies, which can be understood as both an act of revenge and an act of ritual sacrifice (cf. Zheng Yi, *Scarlet Memorial: Tales of Cannibalism in Modern China*, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996). On the historical antecedents for cannibalism in Guangxi during the Cultural Revolution, see Donald S. Sutton, "Consuming Counterrevolution: The Ritual and Culture of Cannibalism in Wuxuan, Guangxi, China, May to July 1968," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37.1 (January 1995), especially 149–155. For examples of symbolic cannibalism in earlier periods, see also Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 28, 48, 165–166. On ritual consumption of the flesh of tyrannical officials during the Tang, see Edward H. Schafer, "T'ang," in K. C. Chang, *Food in Chinese Culture*, p. 135.

19. Li Gui describes various atrocities including "cutting out the hearts and livers" of captives. On one occasion, one of Li's captors had his men kill two captives, cut out their livers, stir-fry them, and share them among his troops. See Li Gui, "Si tong ji," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixue hui, vol. 4, pp. 480–481.

20. Sutton, "Consuming Counterrevolution," 153.

21. For a story from the Ming-Qing transition with similar imagery, see Free-Spirited Immortal, "The Filial Woman Slaughtered in Jiangdu," trans. Wai-yee Li, *Renditions* 70 (2008): 89–100.

22. On *gegu* as a form of cannibalism, see Key Ray Chong, *Cannibalism in China* (Wakefield, NH: Longwood Academic, 1990). Chong's book contains many errors and uses sources uncritically. On a possible connection between Buddhism and the practice of offering one's own flesh as food or medicine in medieval China, see James A. Benn, *Burning for the Buddha: Self-Immolation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 30.

23. Sutton makes a similar point, suggesting that the use of one's own body as food is a fundamentally ritual act, although by intensifying filial and emotional relationships *gegu* is again the antithesis of revenge cannibalism, which obliterates human connection by way of physical consumption of an enemy. The emphasis on the liver in both contexts is particularly telling. Sutton, "Consuming Counterrevolution," 152.

24. On this issue with regard to the North China Famine of 1877–78, see Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron: Cultural Responses to Famine in Nineteenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 49, 212–222.

25. In Lu Xun's famous story "The Diary of a Madman (Kuang ren riji)," the protagonist realizes that he inhabits a society in which the erstwhile moral norms, human relationships, and canonical texts all command consumption of human flesh. The story was published in 1918, only fifty-four years after the end of the Taiping war. In the immediate postwar period, cannibalism figured as the antithesis of normative human behavior. In the Lu Xun story of some five decades later,

cannibalism was the direct consequence of normative human behavior. Lu Xun's hometown of Shaoxing experienced widespread destruction during the war; motifs related to the war can be found elsewhere in his oeuvre.

26. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu* (Suzhou: Yuanmiao guan ma'nao jingfang, n.d.), 30b–31a.

27. An illustration in Free-Spirited Immortal, "The Filial Woman Slaughtered in Jiangdu," also shows a storefront framing the abhorrent commodity and transaction; p. 97.

28. Jiyun shanren (Yu Zhi), *Jiangnan tielei tu* (Suzhou: Yuanmiao guan ma'nao jingfang, n.d.), 30b–31a.

29. See Shi Jianlie, "Ji [Wuxi] xiancheng shishou kefu benmo," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixue hui, vol. 5, p. 266.

30. Yao Ji, "Xiao cangsang ji," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixue hui, vol. 6, p. 532.

31. Many thanks to my colleague Sara Berry for this insight.

32. *Zeng Guofan zougao, juan* 18, p. 23, cited in Teng Ssu-yu, *The Taiping Rebellion and the Western Powers: A Comprehensive Survey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 343–344.

33. Zeng Guofan, *Zeng Guofan quanji* (Beijing: Zhongguo zhigong chubanshe, 2001), Vol. 10, p. 3890, diary entry for June 8, 1863 (TZ 2, 4th month, 22nd day). Thanks to Stephen R. Platt for sharing this reference.

34. Zhang's family of ten, for example, was slowly reduced to eating animal feed, which cost ten times the price of white rice in normal times. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 3b. Hua Xuelie provides a similar account of the city's descent into starvation and cannibalism. See Hua Xuelie, "Hangcheng zai jiang ji shi," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixue hui, vol. 6, p. 628. This text is also in Ding Bing's *Gengxin qi Hang lu* (1896), *juan* 9. A litany of inappropriate foodstuffs consumed in 1642—culminating in punishment of purveyors of food made from the flesh of kidnapped children—can be found in Yao Tinglin's "*Linian riji,*" a diary from the Ming-Qing transition period. Yao was a native of the Shanghai region, which, like Hangzhou, was conventionally considered a region of relative abundance. Here, too, we have the iconic image of human fingers floating in stewpots. Yao Tinglin, "Linian riji," in *Qingdai riji huichao*, Shanghai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982), 39-172, at 51–52.

35. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 3a.

36. Li Hsiu-cheng, *Taiping Rebel: The Deposition of Li Hsiu-ch'eng*, ed. Charles Anthony Curwen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 258–259 n. 14. In the same footnote, Curwen also provides references to accounts of cannibalism during the siege of Hangzhou, including *British Parliamentary Papers Relating to the Rebellion in China and Trade in the Yang-tze-kiang River*, Enclosure 1 in No. 40, p. 114.

37. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 3b.

38. Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji*, Qingdai shiliao biji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 97.

39. All of these acts were punishable under the Qing code, including theft of

trees from a mausoleum or cemetery. See de Groot, *Religious System of China*, vol. 3, p. 902.

40. Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji*, 97.

41. Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji*, 97. For another rumor about cannibalism, see Hu Changling, "Jiande zhai suibi," 761. In this story, a father (whose name, the author tells us, has been lost) cooks his child for food. The wife mistakes it for the flesh of an animal and, wanting to share with the child, learns the true nature of what she has eaten. Such stories implicitly respond to the notion that eating one's own child would have been beyond the pale—to the extent that there was a four-character phrase of much earlier provenance meaning "trading children in order to eat (yi zi er shi)"; in other words, the starving were to trade children with other families, and then eat the child, knowing that their own child was being eaten by the other family. Thanks to Weijing Lu for introducing me to this four-character phrase.

42. Timoteus Pokora, "'Living Corpses' in Early Medieval China—Sources and Opinions," in *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien; Festschrift für Hans Steininger zum 65* (Würzburg: Köningshausen and Neumann, 1985), 343–358. In an article on techniques and moral assumptions related to preserving bodily integrity after death, Pokora cites texts from the Han and Six Dynasties describing this phenomenon as well as then-recent archaeological discoveries attesting to the efficacy of such techniques. For an example of this phenomenon from Buddhism, see James A. Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 187. For an example from vernacular fiction, see again Free-Spirited Immortal, "The Filial Woman Slaughtered in Jiangdu," 98.

43. On expansion of chastity honors during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Janet Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters: The Politics of Chastity in Eighteenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

44. See for example, Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 32b–33a. There are similar stories from the Ming-Qing transition. For an example, see Norman Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China: Filial Piety and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 86.

45. On the desecration and mutilation of rebel corpses and atrocities committed by Qing soldiers, see for example John Scarth, *Twelve Years in China: The People, the Rebels, and the Mandarins* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1972), 216.

46. Jin Changfu, *Guihai riji*. Note that this material was included in the entry for Qingming, the holiday dedicated to honoring the dead.

47. Jin Changfu, *Guihai riji*.

48. Li Rong and Gong Jiajun, *Hangzhou fuzhi* (photo reprint of 1922 reprint of the 1898 gazetteer), Zhongguo fangzhi congshu, Huazhong difang #199 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1974), 140:38a–39a (vol. 8, pp. 2683–2684). In another example, the sons of Chen Gangyong issued a statement proclaiming that they recovered their father's remains some twenty-four years after his death in Taiping County, Anhui, during the war, and proposing to stage a splendid funeral for him within the city walls of their hometown of Xiamen, Fujian. De Groot, v. 3, 843–

844. To stage a funeral within the city walls was understood to be an extraordinary honor, permitted in only very exceptional cases. De Groot, v. 3, 842.

49. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 32a–33a. Manjie's age is given in years here. By Chinese count, she was fifteen *sui*.

50. Zuo Xijia was a native of Changzhou and a student of Zhang Qieying, one of the literary women portrayed in Susan Mann's *Talented Women of the Zhang Family*, p. 123.

51. Wang Xiaofeng, Untitled, in *Lengyin xianguan fulu*, Dingxiang guan shu, 1891, 4a–5b. Zuo painted a picture of her travels with her husband's coffin, titled *Gu zhou ru Shu tu* (A solitary boat enters Sichuan). Contemporaries, including Wang Xiaofeng, composed inscriptions on the painting narrating her journey and celebrating Zuo's picture, talent, and virtuous conduct. Many of the poems were composed to match Zuo's own travel poems. The compiled inscriptions were published as an appendix to her poetry collection. I am grateful to Ying Zhang for sharing this source with me. For a brief biography of Zuo in English, see Lily Xiao Hong Lee et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 324–325. For several of Zuo's poems, see Grace Fong, "A Widow's Journey During the Taiping Rebellion: Zuo Xijia's Poetic Record," *Renditions* 70 (Autumn 2008), 49–58.

52. Fang Yurun, "Xinglie riji," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Luo Ergang and Wang Qingcheng, vol. 7, p. 11.

53. Li Rong and Gong Jiajun, *Hangzhou fuzhi* (photo reprint of 1922 reprint of the 1898 gazetteer), Zhongguo fangzhi congshu, Huazhong difang #199 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1974), 140: 40a (vol. 8, p. 2684).

54. Affirmations of official and gentry status such as donning robes, sitting with seals, and inscribing a death poem proclaiming loyalty to the state are conventional in such biographies. For a similar example from the *Liangjiang caifang zhongyi zhuanlu*, see W. Charles Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and State in Nineteenth-Century Nanjing" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2007), 264–265.

55. Li Rong and Gong Jiajun, *Hangzhou fuzhi*, 11:226 (vol. 2, p. 389).

56. See "Lin dianshi mu," in Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5: 45b–47b. The biography of Jailor Lin was written by Dong Shenyan of Renhe County. Note that the famous literary figure and scholar-official Yu Yue also wrote a biography of Jailor Lin, in which he states that Lin's wife, Ms. Zhou, was connected to his family by marriage. Yu Yue, *Chun zai tang suibi* (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1984), 80. Yu recalls that a young woman from Jailor Lin's household was killed, her body divided into seven pieces. Her spirit was believed responsible for various "strange wonders" at the yamen. Honors were requested for her, and she too was enshrined at Gushan.

57. Yu Yue, *Chun zai tang suibi*, 80.

58. For one of many references to the cowardice of Qing officials, see Zhao Yucun, "Bei lu jilue," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Luo Ergang, Wang Qingcheng, et al. vol. 4, p. 415. Zhao notes that honors and praise were heaped upon those who were honorable because they were so few.

59. For discussion of similar accounts from the Ming-Qing transition, and their implications for death ritual, see Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China*, 80–87.

60. There are many references to the need to comfort the dead in order to prevent their anger, and to anxiety about ghosts. See for example, Jin Changfu's letter to Yan Duanfu, which appears in Jin's diary, *Guihai riji*. Also, on the need for officially sanctioned rites at the fifty-seven new cemeteries in Hangzhou to appease the ghosts of those without surviving family members to care for them, see Zuo Zongtang, *Zuo Zongtang quanji*, ed. Liang Xiaojin, vol. 3 (memorials) (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1989), 82–83.

61. Stephen Owen, *Remembrances: The Experience of the Past in Classical Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), 34. Also cited in Judith Zeitlin, *The Phantom Heroine: Ghosts and Gender in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 48. Writing about the Song, Mark Halperin notes that "caring for dead soldiers and civilians testified to the dynasty's moral character and inoculated the imperial house against any possible ills resulting from resentful, untended spirits." Mark Halperin, *Out of the Cloister: Literati Perspectives on Buddhism in Sung China, 960–1279* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 114. See also, Stevan Harrell, "When a Ghost Becomes a God," in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*," ed. Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 193–206.

62. De Groot, *Religious System of China*, vol. 3, pp. 866–867. De Groot highlights the extent to which proper burial of the dead was both function and symbol of state authority.

63. Halperin, *Out of the Cloister*, 119. The imperial house was, according to Halperin, intent on accumulating merit and extending its power into the afterlife.

64. Xu Feng'en, "Zhuanxi yusheng ji," excerpt in *DB* 8:4a. In the full version of the "Zhuanxi yusheng ji," Xu recounts his experiences beginning in 1852 in Anhui. The book describes his travels through thirteen provinces and features extensive coverage of the war. It highlights the merits of official secretaries (like himself)—in contrast to the venality, stupidity, and cowardliness of their official superiors. The version excerpted by Ding Bing includes only his eyewitness account of the fall of Hangzhou in 1860. For the full version see Xu Feng'en, "Zhuanxi yusheng ji," originally in *Zhenqi congshu,* reproduced in *Congshu jicheng xubian*, vol. 25, History (Shi)(Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1994), 925–945, and in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixue hui, vol. 4, pp. 499–526. Fang Junyi is listed as "recorder" or "author," and Xu Feng'en as "narrator." According to one reference work, Fang obtained Xu's oral testimony, embellished it, and had it made into a book. Given Xu's later reputation as a writer, this seems odd. Zhang Xiumin et al., eds., *Taiping tianguo ziliao mulu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), 80. In addition to his wartime service as an official secretary, Xu also was a known writer of didactic stories and strange tales. His major work in this genre, the *Lisheng*, was cited as an example by Lu Xun; see his *Brief History of Chinese Fiction*, trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1976), 270–271.

65. Xu Feng'en, "Zhuanxi yusheng ji," excerpt in *DB* 8:7a. Quoted in Hu Siaochen, "Luanli Hangzhou: Zhanzheng jiyi yu Hangzhou jishi wenxue," *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 36 (March 2010): 45–78.

66. Xu Feng'en, "Zhuanxi yusheng ji," excerpt in *DB* 8:8a.

67. Zhao Yucun, "Bei lu jilue," 412–413.

68. Zhao Yucun, "Bei lu jilue," 412.

69. "A Letter from Rev. Griffith John," in *Western Reports on the Taiping*, ed. Prescott Clarke and J. S. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), 231–232.

70. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 477, quoted in John Withers, "The Heavenly Capital: Nanjing Under the Taiping" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983), 227.

71. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 476, quoted in Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," 226. The translation is his.

72. Zeng Guofan, *Zeng Guofan quanji*, vol. 7, p. 2528. Family Letter (*jiashu*), dated Xianfeng 11.6.4. Thanks to Stephen R. Platt for this reference. The Zhongguo zhigong chubanshe edition contains letters not found in other versions of Zeng's complete works.

73. Zeng Guofan, *Zeng Guofan quanji*, Family Letter, dated Xianfeng 11.6.10. *Zeng Guofan quanji*, Beijing: Zhongguo zhigong chubanshe, 2001. Again, thanks to Stephen R. Platt for sharing this reference.

74. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 474.

75. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 475.

76. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 1b.

77. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 6a.

78. Jin Changfu, *Guihai riji*.

79. Zeng Guofan, "Yan tu chakan junqing zei shi pian," *Zeng Wenzheng gong quanshu*, Zougao, *juan* 18, p. 931.

80. Zeng Guofan, "Huomian Wansheng qianzao zhe, *Zeng Wenzheng gong quanshu*, Zougao, *juan* 21, pp. 1042–1044.

81. Letter from Mr. Forrest reproduced in Commander Lindesay Brine, *The Taeping Rebellion in China: A Narrative of Its Rise and Progress, Based upon Original Documents and Information Obtained in China* (London: John Murray, 1862), 276.

82. Letter from Griffith John to the London Mission Society, reproduced in Brine, *Taeping Rebellion*, 250–251.

83. Arthur Evans Moule, *Personal Recollections of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, 1861–63* (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury Offices, 1898), 24.

84. "A Letter from Rev. J. L. Holmes," in *Western Reports on the Taiping: A Selection of Documents*, ed. Clarke and Gregory, 230.

85. Frederick D. Cloud, *Hangchow, the "City of Heaven," with a Brief Historical Sketch of Soochow* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1906), 8.

86. Cloud, *Hangchow*, 8. The source of the embedded quote is not indicated in the original.

87. Joseph Edkins, "Narrative of a Visit to Nanking," in Jane Rowbotham Edkins, *Chinese Scenes and People* (London: J. Nisbet, 1863), 252.

88. This seems to have been partly because of shortages of wood, and partly out of religious considerations. See Zhu Wei, "Qianxi Taiping tianguo zhi jin guanzang," *Guangxi shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 39.3 (July 2003): 118–120.

89. Hu Qianfu, "Feng he shilu," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixuehui, vol. 5, pp. 10, 13.

90. Hu Qianfu, "Feng he shilu," 10.

91. Li Gui, "Si tong ji," 483–484.

92. Li Xiucheng, *Taiping Rebel: The Deposition of Li Hsiu-Ch'eng*, ed. Charles Anthony Curwen, 63, 115–116. Li also apparently proclaimed the governor of Jiangsu, who committed suicide during the Taiping assault on Suzhou, a loyal official and arranged for his burial (237 n. 4).

93. De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 3, p. 1376.

94. Hu Qianfu, "Feng he shilu," 14.

95. Xiong Ergu, "Gengshen yizhong ji," in Wang Guofeng, *Jintan xianzhi*, 1885, 13:69b–70a.

96. See for example, Yu Yue's biography of Ding Bing, "Ding jun Songsheng jiazhuan," in "Xu beizhuan ji," ed. Miu Quansun, in Zhou Junfu, Quingdai zhuanji congkan, v. 119, p. 636.

97. Tan Xian (1832–1901), "Yilie yiqian bei," in "Yilie mu lu," by Sun Shuli, 35b. Tan was a native of Hangzhou Prefecture and a well-known lyric poet. On the construction of mass graves in Nanjing, see Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and the State," 246. There, Hunan Army commanders delegated responsibility to an Anhui native with some expertise in burying the dead named Lu Qifa and the abbot of a local monastery. According to Wooldridge, "Qing and Taiping soldiers, as well as officials and civilians were buried in common graves" in both Nanjing and nearby Lishui County (246).

98. In 1854, at Linqing in Shandong, for example, it was said that faced with 270,000 corpses the magistrate arranged for the separate burial of men and women. See Suzuki Chūsei, *Chūgoku shi ni okeru kakumei to shūkyō*, 272. He cites Ma Zhenwen, "Yuefei jiang Linqing jilue," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixue hui, vol. 5, p. 187). The separation of men and women in charitable cemeteries was evidently maintained as an ideal in many places. See Feng Xianliang, "Fenying yizhong," 168.

99. This idea originated in Song Ci's *Washing Away of Wrongs* (*Xi yuan lu*) of 1247. Yi-Li Wu, personal correspondence, October 2010. The *Washing Away of Wrongs* became the standard forensic manual sanctioned by the government during the Qing and was published as an appendix to the penal code beginning during the eighteenth century. Pierre-Étienne Will, "Developing Forensic Knowledge Through Cases in the Qing Dynasty," in *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History*, ed. Charlotte Furth, Judith Zeitlin, and Ping-Chen Hsiung (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 64, 68.

100. Sun Shuyi, "Dongjiao yizhong ji" (A record of the charitable cemeteries in the eastern suburbs), in "Yilie mu lu," by Sun Shuli, *DB* 5:39a–40b. The term *yizhong*, translated here as "charitable cemeteries," refers to tombs and mass graves

built specifically for the unidentified dead. After twenty years, the bones were exposed again and the Benevolence Association lacked funds to solve the problem. Local educators collected money and built permanent tombs, and a man arranged for a commemorative ritual to be performed annually. This ritual does not appear to have had imperial sanction. A stele inscription marked the site. This apparently local project was carried out in the late 1880s or early 1890s. The essay concludes that these new tombs and rites provided some comfort to the souls of the dead, and yet the results were not up to the standard of the imperially sanctioned tombs near West Lake. Moreover, the number of people who died "in the wilderness among broken shards" tragically remained unknown (40b).

101. See Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), 245.

102. Huang Liu-hung, *Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence*, 554. Huang suggests that magistrates purchase land with their own allowances, and failing that they should solicit contributions from the wealthy.

103. Zhang Erjia, "Gengshen xunnan yizhong ji," in "Yilie mu lu," by Sun Shuli, 5:37b. King Wen of Zhou buried the unidentified dead and provided coffins and shrouds for them. These actions were read as a mark of his extraordinary benevolence and compassion. Mark Halperin, *Out of the Cloister*, 115.

104. According to a contemporary observer, the Qing troops used coffins to construct a garrison on Golden Lotus Hill, the site of the main cemetery where coffins were buried and stored aboveground to await burial. In so doing, they dumped out the bones and corpses. When the army withdrew, sons and grandsons came to search for their forebears. They found everything in confusion. Only the coffin covers that had names written on them could reliably be identified. Bones were scattered and broken. He concludes that this was so disturbing that "there were those who could not bear to look upon this with their own eyes." Hu Changling, "Jiande zhai suibi," 762.

105. Tan Xian, "Yilie yiqian bei," in "Yilie mu lu," by Sun Shuli, *DB* 5:34a–b.

106. See Zuo Zongtang's request for imperial recognition of the fifty-seven charitable cemeteries and the imperial edict issued in response. *Zuo Zongtang quanji* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1989), 82–84.

107. Tan Xian, "Yilie yiqian bei," in "Yilie mu lu," Sun Shuli, *DB* 5:35a. According to Jen Yu-wen, Zuo Zongtang and his forces found the city to be nearly deserted. Only eighty thousand people, or 10 percent of the population, remained. Jen also notes that Zuo and his officers were less inclined to commit atrocities than Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang. Jen Yu-wen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Army*, p. 489.

108. Bones like forests: see Zhang Erjia, "Gengshen xunnan yizhong ji," in "Yilie mu lu," by Sun Shuli, *DB* 5:38a–b. The image is conventional. Obstructing roads and alleys: see Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5:4a. This image is also conventional.

109. On Jiang Yifeng as a serious and upright official whose commitment to restoring order was reflected in his dedicated efforts to bury the dead, feed the people, resettle refugees, and reestablish academic culture in Hangzhou after the war, see Li Rong and Gong Jiajun, *Hangzhou fuzhi*, 121:14b–15a (v. 7, pp. 2348–2349).

110. Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5:8b–9a. Another source, principally dedicated to documenting the contribution of the Burial Bureau of the welfare association credits Hu Guangyong's men with having found thirty thousand skeletons in condition appropriate for individual burial. The rest were buried in mass graves (*DB* 5:38a). See also *Zuo Zongtang quanji*, 82–84.

111. The 6,426 jin of bones were buried in a mass grave at Tianchi Temple. Sun quotes the *Hangzhou fuzhi*, in *DB* 5:4b–5a.

112. For precise information regarding the acreage and locations of these cemeteries, see Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5:26a–33b.

113. For all of the illustrations, see Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5: 2a–3b. The illustrations are followed by explanations, in most cases derived from other sources including the prefectural gazetteer. See Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5:4a–5b. Huang Xueqian makes precisely this point in his poem from the 1890s; see Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5:43a. Huang also describes the tombs as "earthen buns" (*tu mantou*).

114. These events are recounted in detail in a stele inscription by the prefectural magistrate, which itself is duly recorded in Sun Shuli's cemetery records. The inscription also details provisions made for the shrine's maintenance and records the involvement of prefecture-level officials and organizers from the Welfare Association. Chen Lu, "Tianchi si, Quanshan dong liang yizhong cisi beiji," in "Yilie mu lu," by Sun Shuli, 5:36a–37b. Another poem and accompanying commentary contrasts the site at Fountain Hill Cave with a similar site in the author's hometown of Jinhua. The cave in Hangzhou has received imperial recognition, while the one in Jinhua remains in a state of neglect. The author argues that the people of his hometown were no less heroic for the lack of recognition and expresses hope that his essay will help to wipe away the shame incurred by such shabby treatment of his hometown dead. See Liu Kun, "Quanshan dong yizhong (Charitable cemetery at Fountain Hill Cave)," in "Yilie mu lu," by Sun Shuli, *DB* 5:43b–44a.

115. See Jiang Hong, *Suzhou cidian* (Suzhou: Suzhou daxue chubanshe, 1999), 329. There was a long tradition of exposing and humiliating the bones of defeated enemies dating back at least to the *Zuozhuan*. Halperin, *Out of the Cloister*, 115.

116. Hua Yilun, *Xi Jin tuanlian shimo ji* (unpaginated manuscript, Shanghai Library).

117. Xiong Ergu, "Shu tong fo chu jing shiji yi," in Wang Guofeng, *Jintan xianzhi* (1885), 13:68a–69b.

118. See Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5:50a–52a. The name "Five Men's Tomb" is a deliberate allusion to the "Five Men's Tomb" at Tiger Hill in Suzhou, which honors five commoners who died resisting the notorious eunuch Wei Zhongxian during the late Ming dynasty, and about which there is an exceedingly famous essay, still read in high school classical Chinese classes.

119. Tan Xian, "Yilie yiqian bei," in Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5:34a–35b. This literary and allusive essay seems to suggest in conclusion that those who had been bandits (or rebels) in life would become neighbors in death.

120. Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5:11a–b. Simultaneous dispensation was

granted by the emperor for the commemoration of Hunan Army dead at the Chu-Xiang Zhaozhong ci and for the local dead at the two charitable cemeteries near West Lake. Shrines dedicated to the Hunan Army dead and the Anhui Army dead were built in other cities as well. On the charitable cemeteries in Hangzhou, see also Li Rong and Gung Jianun, *Hangzhou fuzhi*, 39:44b–46a (vol. 3, pp. 893–894) and *Zuo Zongtang quanji*, 81–84.

121. Mary Rankin explains that a charitable graveyard in Yuyao with a tax exempt endowment of one thousand *mu* may have been a tax dodge. Mary Backus Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865–1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 101–102.

122. Feng Xianliang, "Fenying yizhong," 167. On the persistence of cremation and delayed burial in Jiangnan in the late nineteenth century, see De Groot, vol. 3, pp. 1414–1417. Jeremy Brown argues, following Mary Rankin, that philanthropic organizations functioned as instruments through which gentry landlords asserted their dominance over local society. His protagonist, Tao Xu, criticized welfare bureaus as predatory. Brown, "Rebels, Rent, and Tao Xu," *Late Imperial China* 30.2 (December 2009): 27.

123. Yu Xinzhong, "Daoguang sannian Suzhou da shuizai," *Zhongguo shehui kexue lishi pinglun* 1 (1997): 198–208. See Yamamoto Susumu, "Shindai kōki Kōsetsu no zaisei kaikaku to zendō," *Shigaku zasshi* 104:12 (1995), 38–60.

124. A document from the assistant magistrate explains that a prior incarnation of the Welfare Association had been located in the area and operated a burial association and a river rescue bureau. Their buildings fell into disrepair during the war. By managing the shrine at the martyrs' cemetery at Tianchi Temple, the Provincial Capital Welfare Association gained access to new offices. They then made changes to the shrine in order to make it more suitable for use as a base for its river rescue operations. Permission for this arrangement was granted by the Hangzhou prefectural magistrate in 1869. Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5:18a–20b.

125. The involvement of charitable organizations in the burial of unclaimed corpses has earlier antecedents. For several examples from the late Ming and early Qing, see Fuma Susumu, *Chūgoku zenkai zendōshi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dohosha shuppan, 1997), 164–165.

126. Yu Zhi, *Deyi lu* (Guangzhou: Yangcheng Aiyu shantang cangban), 1871. These include sample forms for the coroners dispatched by the charitable halls to rule out foul play as cause of death. See 8: 4:1a–5b. The preface to this collection indicates that the original manuscript was lost in the war, and that Yu Zhi expanded on what he remembered from the lost text as he sought to recreate it for publication. Lost texts and their reconstitution or recovery are an important motif in postwar writing.

127. "Bao mu liang gui" (Excellent regulations to protect graves), in Yu Zhi, *Deyi lu*, 8:4:1a–5b. For "official" documentation of the connection between unidentified corpses and false accusations of the type that these regulations were obviously intended to prevent, see Melissa Macauley, *Social Power and Legal Culture: Litigation Masters in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 196–210.

For late Qing fictional treatment of the abuse of corpses by litigation masters, see especially 210–211. There seems to have been a long-standing literary fascination with corpses and ghosts, particularly in the Suzhou area; the subject matter appears to have been especially compelling to writers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Melissa Macauley, personal communication July 2007.

128. "Excellent Regulations to Protect Graves," in Yu Zhi, *Deyi lu*, 8:4:4a.

129. Yu Zhi, "Xie Huiting zhuan," in *Zun Xiaoxue zhai wenji* (Suzhou: Dejianzhai, 1883), 5:5b. According to Yu, after the fall of Suzhou, when the Taiping officials tried to involve Mr. Xie in burying the dead, he refused out of principle and moved out of Taiping occupied territory. Not long after that, Mr. Xie learned that his relatives had all been killed and he was so saddened that he too died.

130. Dai Xi, "Wumen bei nan jilue," in *Zhongguo jindai shiliao congkan xubian: Taiping tianguo*, ed. Luo Ergang et al. (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe), vol. 4, p. 398.

131. On women carrying corpses from the Women's Hall out of the walled city for burial, see Difu daoren, "Jinling zaji," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Luo Ergang et al., vol. 4, p. 623. For further information, see Li Wenhai and Liu Yangdong, Taiping tianguo shidai de funü (Women in the era of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom), *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* (1997/01): 93.

132. See for example Rankin, *Elite Activism*, 107–119.

133. Fuma Susumu, *Chūgoku zenkai zendōshi kenkyū*, 549. On this new burial organization, Fuma cites "A Public Proclamation of the Burial Bureau" held at the Jimbunken at Kyoto University.

134. Fuma Susumu, *Chūgoku zenkai zendōshi kenkyū,* 550.

135. Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji,* 98. On gaudiness (and the failure of good taste) as a hallmark of what was wrong with the Taiping government, see Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," chap. 2.

136. Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji*, 99.

137. The war "helicoptered" failed examination candidates and lower-level degree holders into positions of influence whether in Zeng Guofan's extended circle of secretaries (who in many cases leveraged their wartime positions into bureaucratic posts after the fighting ended), or in local philanthropic institutions, or in the Taiping regime.

138. This concern over misuse of cemetery lands was shared by local officials. For example, in 1872 the Hangzhou magistrate issued a prohibition against inappropriate activities at several of the martyr cemeteries in the vicinity. He expressed concern that beggars, militiamen, and monks might seize the cemeteries as places to live and run amok. He also noted that in recent days commoners had begun to treat the cemeteries as a "money pot" by gathering firewood, planting crops, and grazing their cattle and sheep on sacred ground. See Sun Shuli, "Yilie mu lu," *DB* 5:24b–25b.

139. Jin Changfu, *Guihai riji* (diary entry for the 11th month, 23rd day), "Guo Yangzhou xibei xiang zhui diao zhan wang jiangshi xunnan shenmin sishou," The poem, which is in regulated verse, rather aggressively rhymes the word for "corpse" with "[imperial] knowledge." Thanks to Anna Shields for pointing this out.

140. Chen Zuolin, *Bingzhu litan*, 2:17b–18a. Cited in Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," 230.

141. Yueni jilue bazhong, ms. in Nanjing University History Department collection, cited and discussed in Withers, "The Heavenly Capital," 230. The translation is his.

142. "Shengshe daochang (A well-appointed rite)," *Shenbao*, 1887.12.27 (electronic edition). I would like to thank Vincent Goossaert for sharing this source.

Chapter 5

1. W. Charles Wooldridge, "Building and State Building in Nanjing," *Late Imperial China* 30.2 (December 2009): 111.

2. A Chinese translation based on this section has been published as an article titled "Baoyang wangchao zhi sinanzhe: shijiu shiji zhongguo de daonian huodong," Zhang Ting, trans. In Liu Fengyun, Liu Wenpeng, Dong Jianzhong, eds. *Qingdai zhengzhi yu guojia rentong*, Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2012, pp. 755–760.

3. Mark Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State in China, *Past and Present* 104 (August 1984): 111–152.

4. W. Charles Wooldridge makes a similar argument regarding ritual in his dissertation, "Transformations of Ritual and the State in Nineteenth-Century Nanjing" (Princeton University, 2007; see chap. 7, especially pp. 63–65.

5. Norman Kutcher has observed that by the end of the eighteenth century loyalty and chastity overshadowed filial piety as officially sanctioned virtues, reflecting an ideological reconfiguration emphasizing loyalty to the emperor, and its gendered analogue. Norman Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China: Filial Piety and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 5.

6. Janet Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters: The Politics of Chastity in Eighteenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 7–9. See also her article "Managing Martyrdom: Female Suicide and Statecraft in Mid-Qing China" *Nannü* 3 (June 1, 2001): 47–76, which maps a trajectory for chastity honors similar to that described for loyalty here.

7. In 1775, the emperor authorized inclusion of those who died in loyal service to the Ming in the Zhongyi xiaoti ci (Shrine to the Loyal and Filial) and Jiexiao ci (Shrine to the Chaste and Filial). Subsequent edicts identify potential martyrs among the Jianwen loyalists of the early Ming and "Southern Ming martyrs of true merit." Kun Gang and Xu Tong, eds. *Qing huidian shili* (hereafter, *QHDSL*; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), *juan* 444, vol. 6, pp. 24–25.

8. The name chosen for the shrine suggests its intended function: to make loyalty visible, and thus provide a model and commemorative site for those imperial subjects identified as "loyal dead." The edict ordering construction was issued in 1724; construction was completed in 1729. *QHDSL*, *juan* 449, vol. 6, p. 69.

9. W. Charles Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and the State in Nineteenth-Century Nanjing," pp. 63–65.

10. *QHDSL*, *juan* 449, vol. 6, p. 69.

11. *QHDSL*, *juan* 449, vol. 6, p. 69. A list of those so honored appears on pp. 71–73.

12. *QHDSL*, *juan* 449, vol. 6, p. 69. This wording again seems suggestive of a functional or moral equivalence between loyalty and chastity as a site for articulating imperial values.

13. On the Qianlong-era passion for military commemoration, as expressed in steles, military paintings, and literary and historical productions, see Joanna Waley-Cohen, "Commemorating War in 18th century China," *Modern Asian Studies* 30.4 (October, 1996): 869–899. Waley-Cohen sees military commemoration as part of a constellation of Qianlong era practices intended to glorify Manchu rulership (and the Qianlong emperor himself) and promote an image of the state's multiethnic or universal character. Expansion and dilution of the category "loyal dead" seems paradoxically consistent with these objectives.

14. *QHDSL*, *juan* 449, vol. 6, p. 75. In one edict from 1753, for example, the emperor argued that Manchu aristocrats ought to be placed front and center in the hierarchy of honorees. Descendants of those enshrined were also to be given positions in the Banners, vol. 6, p. 73. On cross-checking and reorganization to clarify hierarchies, see vol. 6, p. 75. For more on the ethnic politics of the Qianlong period, see Pamela Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 5.

15. *QHDSL, juan* 449, vol. 6, p. 73. On the campaigns against the Miao and Zunghars, see Alexander Woodside, "The Ch'ien-lung Reign," in *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 9, ed. Willard Peterson, 230–309.

16. *QHDSL, juan* 449, vol. 6, p. 76.

17. *QHDSL, juan* 449, vol. 6, pp. 76ff.

18. Peter Perdue discusses another aspect of Qianlong's war policies: use of total annihilation as a strategic weapon to eliminate the Zunghar Mongols in his Central Asian campaigns. This would seem to be the inverse of the spectacular displays of benevolence bestowed on those who accepted Qing rule. See Peter Perdue, *China Marches West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 285ff.

19. Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), vol. 1, p. 223. In stark contrast to the overall trend toward greater inclusiveness, we find occasional spectacular acts of exclusion. After investigation, a long-deceased governor of Guizhou was found to have betrayed the Qing cause by sympathizing with the Three Feudatories during the Kangxi period. His tablet was expelled from the shrine in order to "nullify the treasonous rebel and illuminate the sacrifices." *QHDSL*, vol. 6, p. 78. Similar "evidential research" could be applied in support of inclusion: during the Daoguang period in particular, new martyrs from the Ming-Qing transition period were added to the metropolitan Zhaozhong ci. See, for example, *QHDSL*, vol. 6, p. 79. A similar pattern can also be found in local gazetteers from the late nineteenth century, which often list "recently discovered" honorees from the mid-seventeenth-century dynastic transition, followed immediately by victims of the Taiping war.

20. *QHDSL, juan* 451, vol. 6, p. 95. Some of these local shrines still survive, notably in Taiwan, Liaoning, and Anhui.

21. *QHDSL*, *juan* 451, vol. 6, p. 95.

22. *QHDSL*, *juan* 451, vol. 6, pp. 95–96.

23. *QHDSL*, *juan* 451, vol. 6, p. 96.

24. Theiss identifies a similar trend in imperial rhetoric on chastity. Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters*, 214–215.

25. *QHDSL*, *juan* 451, vol. 6, p. 99.

26. *QHDSL*, *juan* 451, vol. 6, p. 99.

27. For more on such posthumous promotions, see *QHDSL*, *juan* 499, vol. 6, p. 777. Kuhn identifies increased use of honorific titles and brevet ranks as a strategy used to attach local elites to the governing order. Philip Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796–1864* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard East Asia Series, 1980), 121.

28. *QHDSL*, *juan* 499, vol. 6, pp. 777–778.

29. *QHDSL*, *juan* 499, vol. 6, pp. 777–778.

30. *QHDSL*, *juan* 404, vol. 5, p. 522. In 1861, a supervising censor reported that some secretaries and runners and school inspectors would not report chastity cases to the Board of Rites unless money first changed hands. This suggests the potential for corruption throughout the system of state honors. *QHDSL*, *juan* 404, vol. 5, p. 522–523.

31. *QHDSL*, *juan* 499, vol. 6, p. 799; *juan* 444, vol. 6, pp. 25–26.

32. *QHDSL*, *juan* 499, vol. 6, p. 779. Another aspect of the imperial response was moral education. *QHDSL*, *juan* 400, vol. 5, p. 473.

33. *QHDSL*, vol. 6, p. 779.

34. *QHDSL*, vol. 6, p. 779.

35. Requests for honors submitted by local elites were not always granted. Refusal might come at either the official or the central level. See for an example Fang Yurun, "Xinglie riji," in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Luo Ergang and Wang Qingcheng, Zhongguo jindai shiliao congkan xubian (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2004), 21.

36. *QHDSL*, *juan* 452, vol. 6, p. 103.

37. The response to Zeng Guofan is *QHDSL*, *juan* 452, vol. 6, p. 104. An 1859 reference to corruption by clerks and runners can be found in *QHDSL*, *juan* 499, vol. 6, p. 779. It calls on "impartial gentry and local elders" to recommend eligible martyrs to the provincial officials within six months. This seems to have been part of a broader effort to pacify local society by shifting power away from clerks and runners and toward local elites. See Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies*, 214.

38. For an early-nineteenth-century case of local elites making use of and transforming centrally authorized shrines and rituals, see Han Seunghyun, "Shrine, Images, and Power: The Worship of Former Worthies in Early Nineteenth Century Suzhou," *T'oung Pao* 95.1-3 (January 2009): 167–195.

39. *QHDSL*, *juan* 452, vol. 6, p. 104. Generally the late Qing was marked by transfer of power to local elites, who gained access to formal channels through which to wield previously informal authority. Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies*, 215.

40. Pei Dazhong et al., *Wuxi Jinkui xianzhi*, 1881, 12:8a. Yu Zhi's brother, who committed suicide by drowning when the rebels came to Floating Boat Village in 1860, qualified for official honors and later was enshrined there. Wu Shicheng, ed., *Yu Xiaohui xiansheng nianpu* (1875), 12a. On construction of Manifest Loyalty Shrines dedicated specifically to the Anhui Army, see Fu Deyuan. "Li Hongzhang yu Huaijun Zhaozhong ci," *Anhui shixue* 3 (2006): 71–82. Li Hongzhang and Zeng Guofan both tirelessly pursued special honors for the Anhui and Hunan Armies—including construction of shrines for their personnel, leaving extensive traces in the form of official memorials. The shrine at Huishan was the first to honor the Anhui Army. In 1911, it was converted to a shrine honoring martyrs from the revolution (see 73–74).

41. "Huiguan si hu," *Shenbao*, 1881.09.03, electronic version. Also *Zuo Zongtang quanji* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1989), 81–84. In Nanjing there were separate shrines honoring the Hunan and Hubei Army dead, the local dead (including officials, soldiers, gentry, and commoners), and the banner dead. Wooldridge, "Building and State Building," 113.

42. *QHDSL*, *juan* 452, vol. 6, pp. 116–117.

43. Tobie Meyer-Fong, "Gathering in a Ruined City: Metaphor, Practice, and Recovery in Post-Taiping Yangzhou," in *Lifestyle and Entertainment in Yangzhou*, ed. Lucie B. Olivova and Vibeke Børdahl (Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2009), 37–61.

44. For example, the Zhejiang governor memorialized the emperor in 1865 requesting that a gentry-built shrine honoring the local dead be made eligible for official rites and an imperially bestowed plaque. Lu Zhen, "Chongyi ci zhi" (A gazetteer of the Chongyi Shrine), in *Gengxin qi Hang lu*, ed. Ding Bing (hereafter, *DB*), 4:1a–b.

45. Wooldridge explains that in 1856 Hu Linyi set up a bureau to investigate and honor those who died resisting the Taiping; in 1858 and 1860, Zeng Guofan proposed incorporating local shrines into the Qing ritual roster. In 1860, Wang Shiduo proposed creation of a "Bureau for the Loyal and Righteous" for Anhui, Jiangsu, and Jiangxi (i.e., Liangjiang) to Zeng Guofan. The new bureau was to be tasked with compiling biographies, managing dossiers, making sure no one was honored twice, and establishing procedures through which lists of names would be submitted to Zeng Guofan and forwarded to the authorities in Beijing in an orderly fashion. Zeng Guofan, acting on the advice of Wang Shiduo and others, then created the bureau as part of his traveling headquarters. Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and the State in Nineteenth-Century Nanjing," pp. 190–191.

46. On the creation of the bureau, see Zeng Guofan, *Zuben Zeng Wenzheng gong quanji*, vol. 2 (Jilin: Renmin chubanshe, 1995), 734. Eventually, the bureau was tasked with publishing a record of their deaths in book form. Liangjiang caifang zhongyi ju, *Liangjiang caifang zhongyi zhuanlu* (hereafter, *LJZYL*; 1887), "Editorial Principles," 1a. This source is one of the resulting publications, consisting of thirty case files detailing the deeds of the honorable dead of Yangzhou prefecture, although the title would suggest a broader range. Similar institutions were subse-

quently set up in other provinces, and many of them published similar accounts. In a striking parallel, genocide survivors in Rwanda have set up an organization called IBUKA ("Remember"). In 1999, it published the "Dictionnaire nominatif des victimes du genocide en prefecture de Kibuye," a compilation similar in some regards to the lists published by the Zhongyi ju. Most of the 1,086 pages identify the dead, their age, gender, profession, place of death, date of death, and manner of death. Lars Waldorf provided information regarding IBUKA in a personal communication.

47. Some of the material in this section also appears in my article "Gathering in a Ruined City."

48. Fu Deyuan, "Li Hongzhang yu Huaijun Zhaozhong ci," *Anhui shixue* 3 (2006): 71–82.

49. This is described also in Liu Kunyi's preface to Mu-ke-deng-bu, ed., *Liangjiang zhongyi zhuan* (1893), 2a–b. Liu also argues that commemoration has the power to pacify: the High Qing commemoration of martyrs to the former Ming contributed to pacification of Jiangxi and Jiangnan, making the people of this region loyal to the Qing to their bodily depths (kidneys, intestines, muscles, and marrow), as was revealed in the righteous conduct of civil and military officials here during the rebellion. Liu Preface, 4b.

50. Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," in *DB* 3:12b–18b.

51. *LJZYL*, *fanli*, 1b.

52. *LJZYL*, *fanli*, 1b. The authors comment that there are those who merit inclusion but who have not yet received formal recognition. In these cases, the gruesome facts surrounding their deaths warrant inclusion despite the absence of official honors.

53. On Jin Changfu and his diary, see Meyer-Fong, "Gathering in a Ruined City," 43–48. There is some overlap between the material appearing in that article and the paragraphs here.

54. Jin Changfu, *Guihai riji*, unpaginated manuscript in Chinese Academy of Sciences Library (Zhongguo kexue yuan). The letter is addressed to Yan Duanshu, a native of Yangzhou prefecture serving as an official in Guangzhou.

55. Pei et al., *Wuxi Jinkui xianzhi* (1881), *fanli,* 5b–6a.

56. The site of death was significant, as were the place of enshrinement and the final words of resolve uttered when facing death. Loyalty was, like female chastity, a metaphor for community honor. Thus the subject's loyalty or chastity—and his or her local identity—had to be firmly established. On textual construction of chastity as the embodiment of collective honor, see Susan Mann, "Widows in the Kinship, Class, and Community Structures of Qing Dynasty China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 46:1 (February 1987), 43.

57. The set of gestures signaling resistance in death is constant across time and space; we see the same catalogue of behaviors in the gazetteer accounts and commemorative biographies of the righteous martyrs in Yangzhou, Suzhou, Wuxi, Hangzhou, and elsewhere. Pei et al., *Wuxi Jinkui xianzhi* (1881), "Xunnan shenmin biao shang." Pages 4b to 50a list those killed in the fourth month of 1860.

58. Pei et al., *Wuxi Jinkui xianzhi* (1881), "Xunnan shenmin biao shang," 4b, 5a, 22b.

59. Pei et al., *Wuxi Jinkui xianzhi* (1881), "Xunnan shenmin biao shang," 5b–22b.

60. Quoted in Xu Dishan. *Fuji mixin de yan jiu*, Renren wenku 018 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1966), 30.

61. Huang Kaisheng, ed., *Xiangxiang xian zhi*, 1874, appendix (*juanmo*): congji: 25b–26b. See also Stephen R. Platt, *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom*, pp. 351–352.

62. Ma Xinyi, "Preface," *Zhejiang Zhongyi lu* (1867), eds. Zhejiang caifang zhongyi zongju,1a–b. The preface is also included in Fang Chengkun, *Zhaozhong ci zhi*, in *DB* 3:70b–72b. Inclusion of this preface (and the postface by Wang Jingcheng that follows) suggests a close connection between the semiofficial projects of the Bureau to Gather and Investigate the Loyal and Righteous and the Manifest Loyalty Shrine.

63. Ma Xinyi, preface to Zhejiang caifang zhongyi ju, eds., *Zhejiang zhongyi lu*, 1a.

64. Liu Kunyi, "Preface," *Liangjiang zhongyi zhuan*, 1a.

65. Feng Guifen, "Yijian Zhaozhong ci bei ji," in *Xianzhi tang gao*, Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan xubian 79, vols. 783–784 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe), 342. Feng notes however that important men not native to the prefecture who had been enshrined individually at Nanjing were not included in the Suzhou shrine (343). The original pagination for this essay in the block-printed edition from which this photo reprint was made is 3:20a–22a.

66. Feng Guifen, "Yijian Zhaozhong ci bei ji," 342–344.

67. Feng Guifen, "Yijian Zhaozhong ci bei ji," 343–345. Feng ends his essay with a song centered on the motif of the emperor honoring the dynasty's dead.

68. For discussion of Xu Yaoguang and his concerns, see Hu Siaochen, "Luanli Hangzhou," *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 36 (March 2010): 67. Xu Yaoguang's Haomu ji appears in the second half of *juan* 14 of Ding Bing's *Gengxin qi Hang lu* (DB).

69. Wang explains that his shrine not only will expand the court's intention in honoring the loyal but will also inspire adulation in the hearts of those who enter it—so that they too might seek to be similarly enshrined (i.e., so they too would be willing to die for the dynasty). Wang Youling, "Zhaozhong huisi ci ji," in Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3: 8a–9a.

70. Wang Youling, "Zhaozhong huisi ci ji," in Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:9a–b. Later, the old stele was recovered and a collective tablet was erected in honor of those whom Wang Youling had sought to recognize (3:9b). For more information, see Li Rong and Gong Jiajun, eds., *Hangzhou fuzhi* (photo reprint of 1922 edition of the 1898 gazetteer), Zhongguo fangzhi congshu; Huazhong difang 199 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1974), 11:19a (vol. 1, p. 388).

71. See Sun Yiyan's essay "Chongyi ci bei ji," in Li and Gong, eds. *Hangzhou fuzhi*, 11:19a–b. In this essay, written in 1877, Sun appears to hold cowardly local officials responsible for the spread of the rebellion, even as he appreciates the shrine for honoring the officials among the Hangzhou dead. The same essay appears in the shrine gazetteer edited by Lu Zhen (whose brother donated the land for the shrine). See "Chongyi ci bei ji," in Lu Zhen, "Chongyi ci zhi," in *DB* 4:6b–9b.

72. Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," in *DB* 3:102a.

73. The plaque for the shrine was bestowed in 1866. Lu Zhen, "Chongyi ci zhi," in *DB* 4:1b. Ma Xinyi composed an inscription, written in his own calligraphy and erected as a stele, explaining the history of the site and the events that led to imperial recognition. The text of the stele can be found in ibid., 4:5a–6b.

74. Xu Yi, "Cong 'zhuanji xiangxu' dao 'tuoban shanhou'—Tongzhi shiqi Jiangsu sheng lijin zhengce shulun,", *Zhongguo jingji shi yanjiu* 04/2006: 77–84, 109. The author argues that the *lijin* tax was used to fund Hunan and Anhui Army efforts against the Nian Rebels until 1868, at which point it increasingly became available for reconstruction projects (and entangled in conflicts among local and provincial power holders). The timeline presented in Xu's article is consistent with the acceleration of symbolically centralizing, locally empowering projects such as gazetteers and shrines in the early 1870s.

75. When Zuo was made governor of Zhejiang in January 1862, the province was almost completely occupied by the Taiping. He thus undertook to fight for his position, literally battling for control over the territory he was to administer. He recaptured the provincial capital in April 1864, after an extended siege that began in the fall of 1863. Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, vol. 2, p. 764. On Wang Youling's death, and Li Xiucheng's handling of his corpse and coffin, which was sent out of Taiping-held territory to Shanghai with an honor guard, see Li Xiucheng, *Taiping Rebel: The Deposition of Li Hsiu-Ch'eng*, ed. Charles Anthony Curwen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 129. Li's account is confirmed in the Hangzhou Gazetteer. Li and Gong, eds., *Hangzhou fuzhi*, 121:14b (vol.7, p. 2348).

76. "Official Documents (Gongdu)," in Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi, *DB*, 3:19a.

77. "Official Documents," in Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi, *DB* 3:19a. For the successive requests by governors-general, see 3:12b–18b. These read, for example, "On the 29th day of the 11th month of Tongzhi 3 [1864], Acting Governor Jiang Yifeng sent a memorial requesting honors on behalf of 15,411 people including Ma Guilin. This was the second such request by a governor" (3:12b). The documented requests date from the first instance by Zuo Zongtang in 1863 to the fifty-eighth request submitted by Governor Liao Shoufeng in 1895 (3:18b).

78. Hu Siaochen suggests that we read Ding Bing's (1832–1899) *Gengxin qi Hang lu* (Weeping for Hangzhou, 1860 and 1861) as a kind of multivocal monument to the catastrophe at Hangzhou. Hu Siaochen, "Luanli Hangzhou: Zhanzheng jiyi yu Hangzhou jishi wenxue," *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 36 (March 2010): 45–78.

79. "Official Documents," Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi, *DB* 3:19a. On construction of schools (especially charitable schools) in the postwar period as an urgent priority for local elites and officials, see Barry Keenan, *Imperial China's Last Classical Academies* (Berkeley: China Research Monographs, 1994).

80. The petitioners included (among others) the former Academician of the Grand Secretariat Li Pinfang and the former Chief Minister in the Court of Imperial Entertainments Xu Naizhao, former Anhui Provincial Education Commissioner Zhu Lan, former Guangxi Provincial Education Commissioner Zhou

Xuejun, former Chancellor in the Directorate of Education and Secretary in the Grand Secretariat, Zhang Yingchang, Hanlin Bachelor Liu Songjun, former acting Jiangsu Provincial Administration Commissioner Wu Xu, former acting Jiangsu Provincial Administration Commissioner Du Wenlan, former acting Jiangning Provincial Administration Commissioner Sun Yiyan, and the Shandong Salt Controller Zheng Lan. The last person on the list is Ding Bing, the compiler of the collection in which the shrine gazetteer was published (Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:21a–b). They report that only one shrine has been completed, an individual shrine honoring Wang Youling.

81. The Bureau for the Investigation of the Loyal and Righteous (Zhongyi ju) and the Military Supplies Bureau (Junxu ju) seem to have worked together on these matters. The former handled the investigations while the latter was responsible for administration of funds and site selection. Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:19b-20b.

82. Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:20b.

83. This is where Xu Feng'en lived next door to the lady poet during his visit to Hangzhou and to which he refers in his memoir; see Chapter Four.

84. The former owners' filial piety provided a convenient parallel with the loyalty to be honored on the site (conventionally, filial piety and loyalty were understood as analogous virtues). Ding Wu, "Gu Gaoyuan gaijian Zhongyi ci," Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:60a–61b.

85. Ding Zhiyuan, "Zhaozhong ci xiao ji," Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:57a–60a.

86. The bureau was housed in the Waves Library (Canglang shuwu) on the grounds of Gao Garden. The building evidently bore an inscription by the Ming-Qing transition figure Wu Weiye, as well as writings by other celebrities. Ding Zhiyuan, "Zhaozhong ci xiaoji," Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:59b. It seems that the bureau moved into the garden after the shrine was built.

87. Fan Chenkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:22b. The owners of one property were interested in becoming merchants and were willing to sell, while the owners of the other property had already pawned it and were amenable to the sale as well.

88. Wang Zhenyuan, "Zhaozhong ci chunqiu jiwen," Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:65b.

89. Wang Dingqi, "Zhaozhong ci zhongsi wei," Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:74b–75a.

90. Ding Shen, "Dong Gao bieshu bayong," *DB* 3:89a.

91. Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:23b, 24b, 25b–26a.

92. Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:28a–b.

93. Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:31a.

94. Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:35a–37a.

95. Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:43b–46a.

96. Ke Wuchi sharply criticizes the Reconstruction Bureau in his home area for their overweening, vengeful, and self-serving ways. See Ke Wuchi, *Lou wang yong yu ji,* Qingdai shiliao biji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959) 93–94.

97. "Chen fu ku ji ru wei," *Shenbao* (online version), Issue 251, 1872.02.24, 2.

98. Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:43a–b.

99. Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:50a–52a.

100. Zhang Binglin, "Zhejiang Zhaozhong ci ji," Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:62a. Zhang uses a word meaning "the blade of a sundial" for "point." The blade of the sundial and its shadow form one of this essay's animating metaphors. Many thanks to Max (K'o-Wu) Huang and his graduate seminar for their translation help on this challenging text. According to Huang, this essay does not appear in Zhang Binglin's collected works, probably because it does not conform to the editors' image of Zhang as anti-Manchu patriot. Huang, personal communication, April 2011.

101. Zhang Binglin, "Zhejiang Zhaozhong ci ji," Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3: 62a–b.

102. On the province as a unit of passionate political identification in this period, see Stephen R. Platt, *Provincial Patriots: The Hunanese and Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

103. Zhang Binglin, "Zhejiang Zhaozhong ci ji," Fan Chengkun, "Zhaozhong ci zhi," *DB* 3:63a.

104. See for example Gan Xi, ed., *Jinling Zhongyi xiaoti ci zhuanzan erjuan* (Ganshi jindailou keben, 1840), which justifies this shrine in relation to the statutory requirement that each administrative unit have a loyal and righteous, filial and brotherly shrine containing steles with name lists. Author's preface, 1a.

105. Part of the rediscovery of Ming martyrs in the later Qing, this book was originally published in the Daoguang period and reprinted in the Tongzhi period. Gao Guanlan, ed., *Jiangyin zhongyi enjing lu* (1874). For another example, see Fang Junyi, preface to Liu Baonan, *Shengchao xunyang lu*; Yangzhou: Huainan shuju, 1871). There appears to have been a general fascination with midseventeenth-century loyalty martyrs during the late 1830s and 1840s: a substantial number of women martyred during the dynastic founding were "discovered" during this period, and state honors were conferred upon them. Their biographies appear in the gazetteer, Yingjie et al., *Xuzuan Yangzhou fuzhi*, 1874, 17:26a–b.

106. Because there is considerable overlap in content, methods, and even staffing, the gazetteer biographies on the "loyal and righteous" might also be considered in this category of publication; indeed there is some evidence suggesting that these gazetteer chapters were sometimes reprinted as independent editions.

107. Zeng appears, if not by name, then in oblique reference, in virtually all of the commemorative volumes—as a great hero and wise man, thanks to whose influence the realm was restored to order. See for example, Wang Zuyu, preface to Gu Shishi, ed., *Tai Zhen zhongyi xingshi lu* (1870), 1:2a. See also Yan Zhengji, *Minzhong cao* (Tongzhi 4, 1865), a collection of poems (each paired with a biography) about the war dead. This ostensibly "private" collection of works by a single author published in Hunan with a later preface from the early Tongzhi period bears a title page inscription by Zeng Guofan. The collection was evidently composed gradually during the rebellion, and published afterward (later preface, 1a). The au-

thor's prefaces offer a fascinating, if conventional, justification of this commemorative project, alluding to the broad range of experiences that could be construed as martyrdom (preface 1a). He argues in the first preface, dated 1854, that the dynasty has "trained its literati for two hundred years to righteously honor virtue and loyalty" and so "those who died as martyrs are numerous enough to illuminate the sun and moon and shine on the earthly regions" (preface 1b). By contrast the rebels are insignificant and on the wrong side—and will surely be suppressed in short order. The later preface, dated TZ 2 (1863), suggests that his poems might be "helpful in encouraging loyalty and virtue and offer encouragement to people engaged in worldly affairs."

108. Such works could be as simple as a handwritten list of names compiled by a bureau. One such example is the "Xu Haiyan xian guanshen funü qingce yijuan," 1866. This manuscript consists of a list of more than eighteen hundred people from Haiyan County, Zhejiang, who had been recognized as martyrs during the Taiping rebellion.

109. Joseph W. Esherick, *Ancestral Leaves: A Family Journey Through Chinese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 82–83.

110. *LJZYL*, "Principles of Inclusion (fanli)," 2a.

111. *LJZYL*, "Principles of Inclusion," 2b.

112. See for example, *LJZYL*, "Principles of Inclusion," 1b.

113. Gu Shishi, ed., *Tai Zhen zhongyi xingshi lu* (1870), "Principles of Inclusion," 1a. Gu, a native of Taicang, was committed to preserving local writings and documents. He is now most famous as the editor of Wu Weiye's literary collection and author of his chronological biography. Wu (1609–1671) was a famous poet of the Ming-Qing transition period. This volume consists of lists indicating official honors. It also includes a selection of vivid and direct biographies (see in particular the biography of the papermaker, 6:1b).

114. The last few pages of Gu Shishi, *Tai Zhen zhongyi xingshi lu*, list the twenty-two donors who contributed thirty-one taels of silver to pay for printing and an additional seventeen donors who contributed eighteen taels of silver and eight hundred copper coins in support of publication.

115. Gu Shishi, *Tai Zhen zhongyi xingshi lu*, author's afterword, 1b.

116. The fact that Liangjiang was an especially traumatized region appears frequently in the Principles of Inclusion sections of regional publications. For example, *LJZYL*. See also Mu-ke-deng-bu, ed., *Liangjiang zhongyi zhuan* and its abridged successor, the *Jiang biao zhong lue*, edited by Chen Danran, both of which are compilations of biographies of martyrs from Jiangsu, Anhui, and Jiangxi. The *Jiangnan tielei tu*, as we have seen, also asserts exceptional suffering by Jiangnan people as it illustrates the contrast between normal times and the rebel occupation.

117. Comparable examples can be found for other places in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Anhui. The imperative to redeem the locale appears to have been especially strong in Nanjing, which was occupied as the Taiping capital for a decade.

118. Both examples are from *Yangcheng xunnan xulu* in Chen Henghe, *Yangzhou congke*, 1930–1934 (reprint: Yangzhou: Guangling guji keyinshe, 1995) 1:2B.

119. See for example the 1858 edict enumerating honors and compensation in relation to rank published as part of the *LJZYL*. This material is also discussed in Meyer-Fong, "Gathering in a Ruined City," 46–48.

120. *LJZYL*, "Principles of Inclusion," 1b.

121. Mu-ke-deng-bu, *Liangjiang zhongyi zhuan*, 3b–4a. On going beyond the *Liangjiang zhongyi lu*, see Liu Kunyi, preface, 3a, and Chen Danran, 1a–1b.

122. Gu Shishi, *Tai Zhen zhongyi xingshi lu*, "Principles of Inclusion (fanli)," 1b.

123. Gu Shishi, *Tai Zhen zhongyi xingshi lu*, author's afterword, 1b (dated 1869). The choice of nomenclature ("Zhaozhong") seems telling.

124. Gu Shishi, *Tai Zhen zhongyi xingshi lu*, author's afterword, 1b.

125. The existence of additional private commemorative writings is indicated in the Editorial Principles of Chen Danran, *Jiang biao zhong lue* (Changsha, 1900; [Taipei]: Mingwen shuju), series vol. 059, 060:325.

126. Wang Zuyu, preface dated 1870 to Gu Shishi, ed., *Tai Zhen zhongyi xingshi lu*, 1b–2a. The last sentence is paraphrase.

127. Interpretation of the High Qing as surpassing the achievements of the greatest dynasties of the past began in the High Qing, with, for example, the official records of the Kangxi emperor's campaigns against Galdan. For discussion of this, see Peter Perdue, *China Marches West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 190–191. See also Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, vol. 2, p. 851. On the surpassing quality of the dynasty's ceremonies to honor the loyal see *LJZYL*, where the editors cite a Qianlong-era proclamation ordering commemoration of Ming martyrs. *LJZYL,* 1a.

128. Chen Jicong, *Zhongyi jiwen lu*, Zhenhai ed. (1882), Zong Yuanhan preface, 1b.

129. Chen Jicong, *Zhongyi jiwen lu,* Zong Yuanhan preface, 2b.

130. Gao Detai, *Zhonglie beikao* (1877), Duanmu preface, 1a.

131. Gao Detai, *Zhonglie beikao*, Qin Preface, 1b. Also notes that the yamen clerks could not foil Gao's efforts. On oral history dimension, see Qin preface, 1a.

132. Gao Detai, *Zhonglie beikao*, Leng preface, 1a.

133. Gao Detai, *Zhonglie beikao*, Qin preface, 1b.

134. Gao Detai, *Zhonglie beikao*, "Gongpin," 1a–1b.

135. The petition was submitted on the 23rd day of the first lunar month in GX 4 (24 February, 1878). Permission was granted via the Boards of War, Rites, and Personnel, as well as the Hanlin Academy and the Grand Secretariat on the 24th day of the 2nd lunar month (March 26) of the same year. Gao Detai, *Zhonglie beikao*, "Xiangwen," 1a–b.

136. Gao Detai, *Zhonglie beikao*, Duanmu preface, 1a. Duanmu Cai was a Nanjing native active during the Tongzhi period. A well-known prose writer, he was promoted through the bureaucracy by way of nonexamination channels. He served, for example, as a county magistrate.

137. The editors especially emphasize the sacrifices made by garrison personnel, who were massacred by the rebels. For example, they note the deaths of more than forty thousand garrison troops when Nanjing fell in 1853.

138. Mu-ke-deng-bu, et al., eds., *Liangjiang zhongyi zhuan*, 23:26b.

139. Mu-ke-deng-bu, et al., eds., *Liangjiang zhongyi zhuan*, Liu Kunyi preface, 1a–1b. Note that Chen Danran lifted large chunks of Liu's preface for use in the foreword to the *Jiang biao zhong lue*, 060: 321–323.

140. Chen, *Jiang biao zhong lue*, Chen Preface, 060: 317–318.

141. Chen, *Jiang biao zhong lue*, Chen Preface, 060: 319.

142. Chen, *Jiang biao zhong lue,* Chen Preface, 060: 319.

143. On Shrines Honoring the Loyalty Martyrs of the Great Han, see Henrietta Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 106. Harrison cites No. 2 Archives: Nanfang geming zhengfu dang'an (Southern Revolutionary Government Archives: Nanjing Provisional Government) (26): 26 (2). 33, 20. "Dian qing qian Qing Zhongyi ge ci gaijian Minguo da Han Zhonglie ci" (Telegram requesting that the Temples to Loyalty and Righteousness of the former Qing be rebuilt as Temples to the Loyal Martyrs of the Great Han), March 23, 1912, Lujunbu gao (Draft from the Army Ministry).

Chapter 6

1. His mother was born into the Yao family and married into the Zhang family. She is referred to by her son in his book as "*taigongren,*" an honorific referring to the wives of officials.

2. A search of the digital *Shenbao* yielded six mentions of Zhang Guanglie and two articles by him, including the one republished in the 1890 edition of the *Xinyou ji*.

3. "Shiyi yue fen fenfa renyuan jiankan mingdan" (A list of officials dispatched for inspection in the eleventh month), *Shenbao*, 03.3151, 1882.02.05), electronic version.

4. The memorial recommending Zhang (among others) originally appeared in the *Peking Gazette* of GX 9.6.3 and was reprinted in *Shenbao*, which routinely republished the *Peking Gazette* as an insert, several weeks later. Shenbao, 12.3684, 1883.07.16. Official approval of Tan's recommendation appeared in the *Peking Gazette* a week later. See *Shenbao* 12.3689, 1883.07.21), electronic edition.

5. "Su sheng fuyuan chao" (Copied from the Jiangsu Provincial Yamen [Gazette]), *Shenbao*, 04.5052, 1887.05.12, electronic version.

6. His maternal grandfather was a severe and upright *shengyuan* (government student). The family had been scholars for generations, and, even though they had not prospered, they continued the family tradition of writing prose and poetry. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji* (Wuzhong [Suzhou], 1890), 7a.

7. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 1a. According to Susan Mann, marital arrangements of this type (managerial wife, sojourning husband) were quite usual in Qing China. She discusses the implications of sojourning for household management in connection with dowry in Mann, "Dowry Wealth and Wifely Virtue in Mid-Qing Gentry Households," *Late Imperial China* 29.1 Supplement (June 2008): 64–76; and more generally in her book *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

8. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 3a.

9. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 4b–5a.

10. Significantly, he emphasizes the nuclear (or more precisely, in this case, uterine) family over the patriline; the focus is on a unit composed of Zhang's mother and siblings.

11. Memories of his mother are "placed" in relation to the constituent structures of the Cistern Alley residence. See for example, Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 8a–b.

12. In addition, he notes that "it is as a guest once said, 'May it not be expected from this [the skin condition] that he will be an impoverished scholar' "—he comments that, thinking of this, he "weeps bitterly and wants to die!" Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 16a.

13. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 15a.

14. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 3b.

15. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 3b.

16. The Shanghai Library lists three copies in its electronic catalogue, with the same number appearing on WorldCat. The copy cited here is housed at the Stanford East Asia Library. A photo reprint edition of the 1880 edition can be found in *Guojia tushuguan cang Zhonghua lishi renwu biezhuan ji*, vol. 54 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2003), pp. 705–723.

17. On Ding Bing's *Gengxin qi Hang lu* (Weeping for Hangzhou), see Hu Siaochen, "Luanli Hangzhou: zhanzheng, jiyi, yu Hangzhou jishi wenxue," *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 36 (March 2010), 45–78.

18. The *Qing Draft History* entry reads: "Zhang Fuhai's wife, Yao, was a native of Qiantang. Fuhai served as magistrate of Qujiang County in Guangdong. Yao stayed at home. The rebels arrived and surrounded the city. The rice gone, they ate wheat. The wheat gone, they ate chaff. Chaff gone, they ate horse feed. The walls broken, the rebels forced Yao to move. Yao struggled and struck a rebel. She was killed. Those who died with her included her sisters-in-law Sun and Wang, her daughter Xingzhu, and her nieces Man, Wen, and Yue." See Zhao Erxun, *Qing shi gao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986) v. 46: p. 14129 (Liezhuan 297, juan 510).

19. The collection contains multiple accounts of the moment of Zhang's mother's death—all vivid, each slightly different.

20. David Pillemer, *Momentous Events, Vivid Memories* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998). Pillemer describes a phenomenon that he calls "personal event memory," or memory narratives that describe singular events and focus on the rememberer's personal circumstances at the time of the event, including what was seen, heard, thought, and felt; "they contain many specific details, such as direct quotations and descriptions of physical surroundings; and they have retained their vivid, life-like quality through the years" (3). He notes also that traumatic memory often has strong sensory and spatial associations (22, 26–27). On the power of fragmentary and quotidian details to evoke a lost past, see Philip A. Kafalas, *In Limpid Dream: Nostalgia and Zhang Dai's Reminiscences of the Ming* (Norwalk, Conn.: EastBridge, 2007), 181–183.

21. On representations of pain in the context of a changing dynamic between

self, nation, and state during the period from 1870 and 1910, see Dorothy Ko, "The Subject of Pain," in *Dynastic Crisis and Cultural Innovation*, ed. David Der-Wei Wang and Shang Wei (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 484–485.

22. Zhang Guanglie's essay on the time of his mother's death asserts that she died at noon on the 28th day of the 11th month (i.e., 29 December 1861). A note following the essay comments: "This is how her youngest son Guanglie remembers it. When maternal uncle was asked about this he said, 'When your mother was martyred, the sun had already set and so it must have been between five and seven p.m. Perhaps your young mind was confused and you don't remember the time clearly' " (11a). This note acknowledges the fallibility of memory—and refuses to alter the main text when faced with the authoritative intervention of a senior relative (a senior relative whose troublesome relationship to his mother's death is hinted at in the text). On excessive tears as a motif in late Qing fiction, see David Der-wei Wang, *Fin-de-Siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849–1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 36–37.

23. Yasuhiko Karasawa, in *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History*, ed. Charlotte Furth, Judith T. Zeitlin, and Ping-chen Hsiung (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 105.

24. William Charles Wooldridge demonstrates this with a table based on the *Liangjiang zhongyi zhuan lu*. Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and the State in Nineteenth-century Nanjing" (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton, 2007), 274–275.

25. In the 1880 edition, the bequeathed words and deeds are presented in schematic form, as lists of attributes, rather than the anecdotes found in the 1890 edition.

26. For a summary of the attributes of traumatic memory as described by psychologists and theorists, see for example Ann E. Kaplan, *Trauma Culture: The Politics of Terror and Loss in Media and Literature* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 34, and Gary Weissman, *Fantasies of Witnessing: Postwar Efforts to Experience the Holocaust* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 133.

27. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, "Juan shou zhi yan," 1b–2a.

28. This essay can be considered part of a broader effort by Jiangnan philanthropists to establish a parallel between the Taiping disaster and the Great Famine in order to generate sympathy for the plight of the suffering people of North China and to raise funds for their assistance. Such efforts can be tracked in the pages of *Shenbao*, as well as in the writings of late Qing Jiangnan philanthropists. See Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron: Cultural Responses to Famine in 19th-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Roberta Wue, "The Profits of Philanthropy: Relief Aid, *Shenbao,* and the Art World in Later Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," *Late Imperial China* 25.1 (June 2004): 187–211.

29. The nickname *Dun'er* means something like "Dimwit," or "Dumbo," suggesting the quality of being dull, rather than sharp. Zhang Guanglie, 42a–b.

30. According to Alan Cole, the Buddhist version of filial piety prioritizes the mother-son relationship. The mother figures as the source of the son's person and

personality and his emotional center. Alan Cole, *Mothers and Sons in Chinese Buddhism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 2.

31. For Ding Bing's role in the textual reconstruction (and representation) of Hangzhou, see Hu Siaochen, "Luanli Hangzhou." On shrines as an official-gentry project, see also Li Rong and Gong Jiajun, eds., *Hangzhou fuzhi*, 11:19a–21a. For useful insights into the role ritual played in reconstruction, see Wooldridge, "Transformations of Ritual and State in Nineteenth-century Nanjing," chap. 7.

32. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 21a.

33. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 37a. The table of contents for the poetry collection known as the "Artemisia Odes" appears in the main body of the *Record of 1861*. The poems themselves were lost. After the prefaces and postfaces were recovered in 1884, these were reprinted in the 1890 edition. "Artemisia Odes" is a conventional title for poetry on filial themes.

34. The precise trajectory is left somewhat vague. He tells us that he gave the manuscript to a printer, but it continued to circulate, was handed around, and ultimately was lost. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji,* 21a.

35. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 36b.

36. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 36a.

37. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 37a.

38. See Yu Yue, *Chun zai tang suibi* (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1999), 38.

39. Xu Feng'en, "Zhuanxi yusheng ji," in *Congshu jicheng xubian* 25, Shibu (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1994), 925–945. According to one reference work, Fang obtained Xu's oral testimony, embellished it, and had it made into a book. Given Xu's later reputation as a writer, this seems odd. Zhang Xiumin et al., eds., *Taiping tianguo ziliao mulu*, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), 80. In addition to his wartime service as an official secretary, Xu also was a known writer of didactic stories and strange tales. His major work in this genre, the *Lisheng*, was cited as an example by Lu Xun in his *Brief History of Chinese Fiction* (trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang; Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1976, 270–271.

40. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 24a. He notes that for mothers and sons it is better to die and be reunited than to live and be separated.

41. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 24b.

42. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 26 a–b.

43. David Pillemer, *Momentous Events, Vivid Memories*, 26–27.

44. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 26b–27a.

45. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 21a.

46. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 3a.

47. See for example *Jiangnan tielei tu*, 33b–43a, where depictions of "order restored" in the form of rectified opera, recitations of the Sacred Edict, and benevolent officials follow scenes showing the total unraveling of local society under Taiping occupation.

48. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, preface, 1a.

49. The book referred to here is surely the *Zhejiang zhongyi lu* (A Record of the Loyal and Righteous of Zhejiang), published by the Bureau to Investigate the Loyal

and Righteous of Zhejiang in 1867. A photo-reprint edition is readily available in Zhou Junfu, ed., *Qingdai zhuanji congkan*, vol. 61 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985).

50. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, preface, 1a.

51. For comparable references to the unspeakable nature of grief from the context of the U.S. Civil War, see Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2008), 209. References to unspeakability were formulaic in both the Chinese and American cases.

52. This episode was meant, of course, as humorous social commentary. Anonymous, *Courtesans and Opium: Romantic Illusions of the Fool of Yangzhou*, trans. Patrick Hanan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 307.

53. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 6b.

54. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 3a.

55. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 3a–b.

56. See Hsiung Ping-chen, "Constructed Emotions: The Bond Between Mothers and Sons in Late Imperial China," *Late Imperial China* 15.1 (1994): 87–118. For these points, see pp. 88, 89, and 109 respectively.

57. For these, see Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 7a, 8a–b, 9a, 14a.

58. See, for example, Allen Cole, *Mothers and Sons in Chinese Buddhism*; Margery Wolf, *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), 32–41; Maram Epstein, *Competing Discourses: Orthodoxy, Authenticity, and Engendered Meanings in Late-Imperial Chinese Fiction* (Harvard University East Asian Series, 2001).

59. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 1b–2a.

60. Zhang, Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 2b.

61. On chastity and face, see Janet Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters: The Politics of Chastity in Eighteenth-century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 198.

62. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 4b–5a.

63. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 9a.

64. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 4a.

65. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 16a.

66. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 25a.

67. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 16b.

68. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 4a.

69. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 13b, 15b. Interestingly, in one of the more formal descriptions of her death, the pipe is not identified as such and is described only as "whatever she had in her hand" (5b).

70. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 15b–16a.

71. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 24b.

72. Even in the essay "A Stone Inscription Recording Pain," the author, an acquaintance of Zhang's named Yue Zhi, asserts that when Guanglie was young "he was much loved by his mother and she would coo at him and call him 'Dun'er'"; Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 20a.

73. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 5b.

74. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 9a.

75. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 9b.

76. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 8b.

77. Arthur P. Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, ed. Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 131–182; Lloyd Eastman, *Family, Fields, and Ancestors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 45.

78. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 9b.

79. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 6a–b.

80. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 34a.

81. According to Drew Gilpin Faust, a similar phenomenon can be observed in post–Civil War America. Many families sought comfort through communication with dead loved ones. *This Republic of Suffering*, 180–185.

82. Rania Huntington, "Chaos, Memory, and Genre: Anecdotal Recollections of the Taiping Rebellion," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 27 (2005): 59–91.

83. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 33a–b.

84. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 33b.

85. Wue, "The Profits of Philanthropy."

86. Wue, "The Profits of Philanthropy." See in particular p. 192.

87. Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900–1950* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007). For another example of someone who suffered during the Taiping War who was inspired to philanthropic activism in Shanghai during the Great North China Famine, see Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron*, on Xie Jiafu, 137–140. Xie lost more than twenty members of his family and lived among the Taiping as a captive. He later lived as a refugee in Shanghai.

88. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 38a–b.

89. For the role of *Shenbao* in promoting philanthropic activity around the North China Famine, see Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron*, 142ff., and Wue, "The Profits of Philanthropy."

90. Zhang Guanglie, *Xinyou ji*, 40a–41b. For the *Shenbao* original see *Shenbao*, "Qi er yu," 1887.08.15.

91. A book about the North China Famine published in the same period addresses similar themes of suffering translated into philanthropy, and the imperative to share painful experience with an audience by way of writing; see Wang Yong, *Liumin ji*; 1886.

92. Zhang Guanglie, "Erke yisheng geng guan xi kaolun," in *Shenbao*, 1887.08.29.

93. I am grateful to Roberta Wue for sharing the missing-person notices. See for example the notice seeking information regarding a father who was lost in the fall of Suzhou in 1860, published as an advertisement in *Shenbao*, 1875.05.07. For a story about unmasked rebels, see "Lun Sucheng qian ni fajue shen qiao shi," *Shenbao*, 1873.01.03. For the story of a mother and son miraculously reunited, see "Mu zi chong feng," *Shenbao*, 1877.3.24. *Shenbao* also published a series of literary supplements and collections, including the *Siming suoji ben*, which was advertised with some frequency in the newspaper around the time of its publication. These

literary supplements started as a publishing vehicle for material related to the war and expanded their coverage to new genres and subject matters, thereby becoming more typically "literary supplements" in the process. Ellen Widmer, personal communication, June 2011.

94. None of these self-accounts are by people who identify themselves with the Taiping; only the depositions of several Taiping leaders survive. Although some, including Lynn Struve, describe the surviving memoirs as representing the "Qing side" (in direct translation from the term *Qing fang* used in the Chinese scholarship), many of these accounts are quite explicit in describing the misbehavior of the Qing forces and their allies. For the use of "Qing side," see Lynn Struve, "Chimerical Early Modernity: The Case of 'Conquest-Generation Memoirs," in *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*, ed. Lynn Struve (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 365. The statistics used by Struve in order to conclude that the nineteenth-century memoirs were less numerous than their early Qing counterparts seem problematic to me, as does her "chronotypal analysis."

Chapter 7: Endings

1. Li Gui, "Si tong ji" (A record of pondering pain), in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixue hui, 4:465.

2. For an interesting point of comparison regarding civil war and popular literature, see Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861–1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). She writes: "The sense that war had created an inexhaustible supply of stories, that there were innumerable 'incidents and anecdotes' of the war to be collected and told energized popular literature both during and after the conflict. This understanding of the storied abundance of the war was one of the chief legacies of popular civil war literature" (311).

3. An apparently forged memoir, the "Jiangnan chunmeng an biji," by Shen Maoliang, who claimed to have been a captive in the entourage of a Taiping officer for some thirteen years, was published in one of *Shenbao*'s literary supplements in 1875. A modern edition can be found in *Taiping tianguo*, ed. Zhongguo shixue hui, Zhongguo jindai shi ziliao congkan (Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguang she, 1953), 4:431–448. Luo Ergang systematically compares the work with other writings about this period and determines that it consists of a pastiche of other materials and does not represent an original (or accurate) description of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. He criticizes the author for not getting his facts straight—and for deliberately misleading readers. Luo terms the book a fabrication that has deceived the generations. Luo Ergang, *Taiping tianguo shiliao bianwei ji* (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1955), 5–37. The book may well be a fake; the author may have never been a captive. Still, this act of forgery intrigues me. Why in 1875 did someone go to the trouble to invent an experience of Taiping captivity for publication? Was it believed at the time? If so, what made it persuasive?

4. "Hangzhou mancheng duo gui" (There are many ghosts in Hangzhou's Manchu Quarter), *Shenbao*, 1872, 7/20, electronic version. For a summary of the fall of

the Hangzhou garrison, see Crossley, *Orphan Warriors*, 132–133. For another story about a ghost, see Wang Kangnian (1860–1911), *Wang Rangqing biji*; (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1997) 43.

5. Cao Zhou, "Wei gengxin xunnan shimin mu jian shuilu daochang qi,", *DB* 3:67b–69a and Shi Hongxi, "Zhuijian xunnan zhongyi jian shuilu daochang shu", *DB* 3: 69b–70b. The author of the second essay was a Buddhist monk. The first essay, by a venerable local poet and lay Buddhist, ends with a request for contributions—and thus, an opportunity to accumulate merit.

Glossary

Abing　阿炳
Amu　阿母
Anqing　安慶
Baisha cun　白沙村
Baozhong ju　褒忠局
baojuan　寶卷
Canglang shuwu　滄浪書屋
Cao Zhou　曹籀
Chang mao　長毛
Changxing　長興
Changzhou　常州
Chen Danran　陳澹然
Chongyi ci　崇義祠
Danyang　丹陽
Dong Shenyan　董慎言
Duanmu Cai　端木埰
Dun'er　鈍兒
Changxing　長興
cheng ren　成仁
Chizhou　池州
Chongwen men　崇文門
Chongyi ci　崇義祠
Chu Xiang Zhaozhong ci
　楚湘昭忠祠
Da Qing huidian shili
　大清會典事例
Da Qing yitong　大清一統
Danyang　丹陽
Ding Bing　丁丙
Ding Shen　丁申
Fa ni　髮逆
Fa zei　發賊
Fan Chengkun　范承堃
fanli　凡例
Fang Junyi　方濬頤
Fang Yurun　方玉潤
Fang Zongcheng　方宗誠
Fei Xiuyuan　費秀元
Feng Guifen　馮桂芬
Fengyu yizhuang　豐裕義莊
Fuji　扶乩（箕）
Fuzhou cun　浮舟村
Gao Detai　高德泰
Gao Ding　高鼎
Gao Jiyuan　高繼遠
Gao yuan　皋園
gegu　割股
Genshan　艮山
Gengxin qi Hang lu　庚辛泣杭錄
Gu Shishi　顧師軾
guan　館

Guandi 關帝
Guanyin 觀音
Guangde 廣德
guo 國
Hangzhou 杭州
haohua 好話
Hefei (Luzhou) 合肥/廬州
Hong Ren'gan 洪仁幹
Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全
Hefei 合肥
Hu Guangyong 胡光墉
Hu Linyi 胡林翼
Huai jun 淮軍
Huang Shuhua 黃淑華
Huishan zhongjie ci 惠山忠節祠
Jimin tushuo 饑民圖說
Jiading 嘉定
Jiangbei 江北
Jiang biao zhong lue 江表忠略
Jianghuai 江淮
Jiangnan 江南
Jiangnan daying 江南大營
Jiang Yifeng 蔣益澧
Jiangning 江寧
Jiangyin 江陰
jiaohua 教化
jie 劫
Jiemei guan 姐妹館
jin 斤
Jin Changfu 金長福
Jinkui 金匱
Jinling 金陵
Jintan 金壇
Jinya zhuang 金牙莊
juren 舉人
Jurong 句容
Junxu ju 軍需局
Ke Wuchi 柯悟遲
Li Gui 李圭
Li Hongzhang 李鴻章
Li Xiucheng 李秀成
Lishui 溧水
Liyang 溧陽
Liang Guang 兩廣
Liangjiang 兩江
Liangjiang caifang zhongyi ju 兩江采訪忠義局
liangmin 良民
Liang Zhe 兩浙
Lie yuan 烈園
Liu Kunyi 劉坤一
Longjing shan 龍井山
Lu e yin 蓼莪吟
Luzhou 廬州
Luo Ergang 羅爾綱
Ma Xinyi 馬新貽
Manjie 滿姐
Miao 苗
Miao Peilin 苗沛霖
mu 畝
Nanmin gong'an 難民供案
Nian 捻
Nanjing 南京
Ningbo 寧波
Ningguo 寧國
paimian 牌面
paiwei 牌位
Pan Zengyi 潘曾沂
Pingjiang 平江
Qi er yu 乞兒語

Qihuang tielei tu 奇荒鐵淚圖
Qian ren keng 千人坑
Qingliang shan 清涼山
Qingming 清明
Qingtai men 清泰門
Quanshan dong 泉山洞
Renhe 仁和
renlun 人倫
Sancha he 三汊河
shanhou 善後
shanhui 善會
shanshu 善書
shantang 善堂
Shanghai 上海
Shangyuan 上元
Shaoxing 紹興
Shenbao 申報
Shen Songyuan 沈頌元
shengyuan 生員
Shi Dakai 石達開
Shi Jianlie 施建烈
shijiao 失教
Shouzu zhuangfang 收租莊房
Shu'nan lu 蜀難錄
Shuangta si 雙塔寺
Shuihu zhuan 水滸傳
Si nan Guanglie gui shi 四男光烈跪識
Si tong ji 思痛記
sui 歲
Sun Yunji 孫雲際
Taicang/Zhenyang 太倉/鎮洋
taigongren 太公人
Taihu 太湖
Taiping tianguo 太平天國
Taiping tianguo geming yundong 太平天國革命運動
Tai-Zhen zhongyi xingshi lu 太鎮忠義姓氏錄
Tan Zhongling 譚鍾麟
Tianchi si 天池寺
Tianjing 天京
Tianwang 天王
Tongcheng 桐城
Tongshan hui 同善會
Wang Chenglin 汪承霖
wang fa 王法
Wang Youling 王有齡
Wenchang dijun 文昌帝君
wu di 吾地
Wuhu 蕪湖
Wulin men 武林門
Wuxi 無錫
Wu ren mu 五人墓
Wu wang er mu 無忘爾母
Wu zhu shihai 無主屍骸
Xigu hui 惜穀會
Xizi hui 惜字會
Xixiang ji 西廂記
Xiangjun 湘軍
Xiang Rong 向榮
Xiangxiang 湘鄉
xiangyue 鄉約
xie qi 邪氣
Xinyou ji 辛酉記
Xingzhu 杏珠
Xu Feng'en 許奉恩
Yan Chen 嚴辰
Yan Duanshu 晏端書
Yan Heda 嚴和大

Yanmai guan 掩埋館
Yanmai ju 掩埋局
Yangcheng xunnan xulu 揚城殉難續錄
Yanghu 陽湖
Yangzhou 揚州
yao 妖
Yao Zuokai 姚作楷
Yixing 宜興
Yizhong 義塚
Yizhuang 義莊
Yi zi er shi 易子而食
Yulanpen 盂蘭盆
Yu Yue 俞樾
Yu Zhi 余治
Yuanmiao guan 元妙觀
Yue fei 粵匪
Yue kou 粵寇
Zeng Guofan 曾國藩
Zeng Guoquan 曾國荃
Zeng Yong 曾詠
Zhang Guanglie 張光烈
Zhang Guoliang 張國樑
Zhang Xianzhong 張獻忠
Zhang Yao shi 張姚氏
Zhao Jialin 趙嘉琳
Zhao Liewen 趙烈文
Zhao Yucun 趙雨村
Zhaozhong ci 昭忠祠
Zhenjiang 鎮江
Zheng Guanying 鄭觀應
Zheng Jing 鄭經
zheng qi 正氣
Zhonglie beikao 忠烈備考
Zhongyi ci 忠義祠
Zhongyi lu 忠義錄
Zhouzhuang 周莊
Zhu Wanchun 朱萬春
Zhu Xi 朱熹
Zhuanxi yusheng ji 轉徙餘生記
Zhuangxian wan 莊先灣
Zitong 梓潼
Ziyang shuyuan 紫陽書院
Zong Yuanhan 宗源瀚
zu 族
zuzhan 租棧
Zuo Xijia 左錫嘉
Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠

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LJZYL: Liangjiang caifang zhongyi ju 兩江採訪忠義局. *Liangjiang caifang zhongyi zhuanlu* 兩江采訪忠義傳錄 (Record of the Loyal and Righteous Gathered and Investigated in Liangjiang [Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Anhui]). 1887.

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